

The Journal of Historical Review

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Robert Higgs

A New Version of the Holocaust Story

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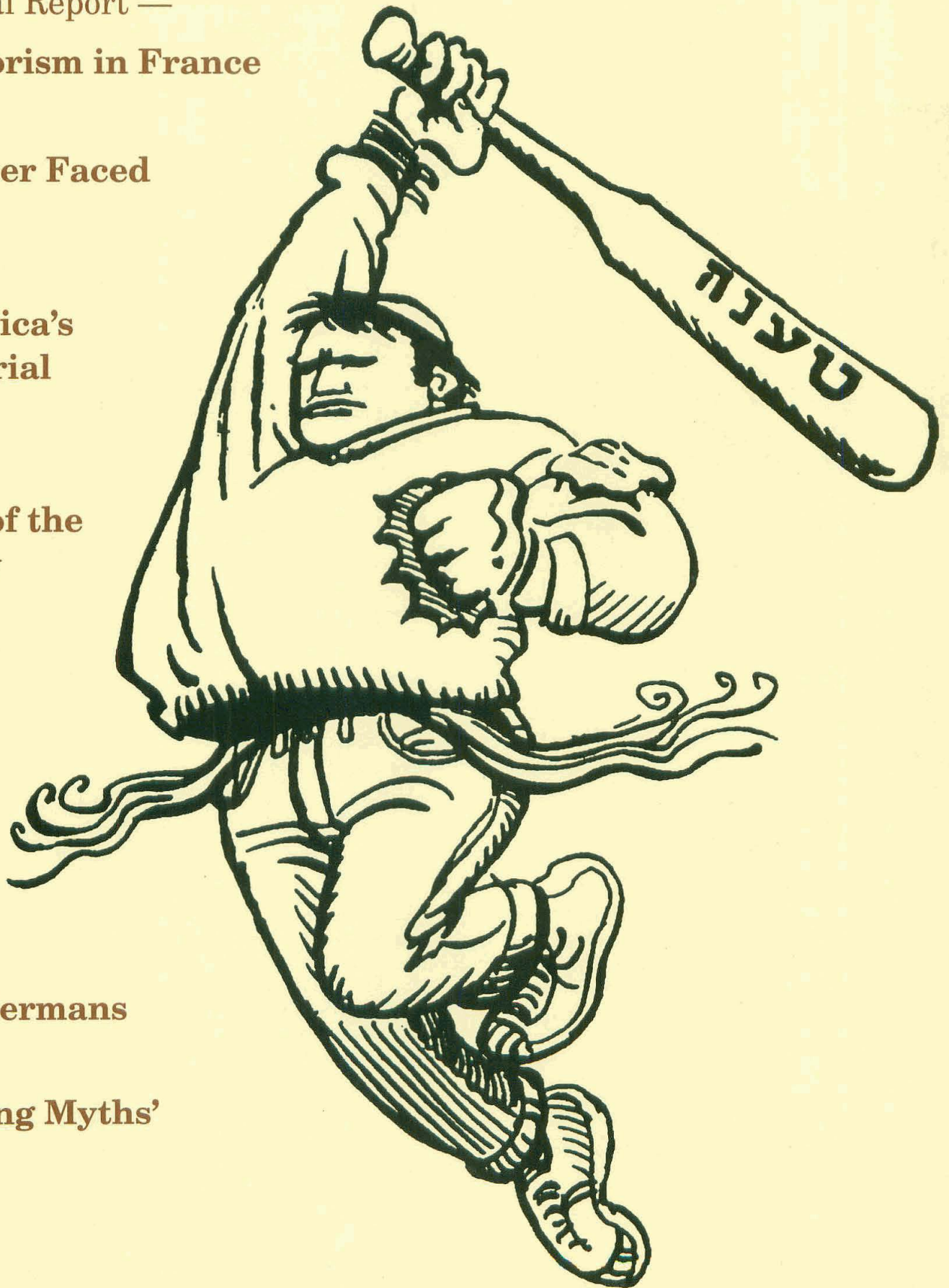
Goldhagen's Indictment of Germans

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— And More —



The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

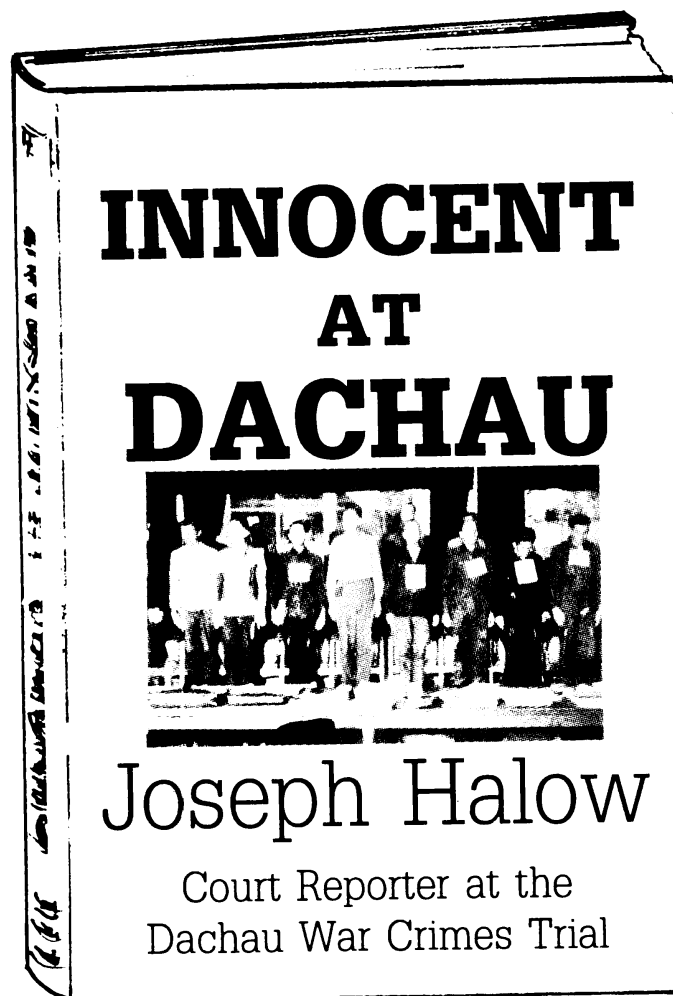
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TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

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Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France

This essay, written in June 1995, is based on documentation provided by Robert Faurisson. Copies of the French-language text have been sent to key French government and police authorities.

In its issue of June 1991, the French monthly *Le Choc du mois* ("The Shock of the Month") published a rather lengthy report entitled "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years of Terrorism" ("*Milices juives. Quinze ans de terrorisme*," pp. 7-13). Under the main headline, a subtitle summed up:

"Jewish Action Group," "Jewish Combat Organization," "Jewish Defense Organization"... Under these various names, Jewish activists for 15 years have unceasingly sown terror [in France] with total impunity. Provocations that have no other aim than to incite reprisals. As if certain people wanted the [French] Jewish community to feel threatened ...

The report reviews 50 cases of physical aggression committed by organized Jewish groups during the period from June 19, 1976, to April 20, 1991. Not mentioned, therefore, are physical attacks committed by individual Jews (which are, in any case, rare).

The victims of the 50 cases listed by *Le Choc du mois*, who number in the hundreds, suffered: loss of life, an eye put out, acid throwing, numerous hospitalizations, injuries followed by deep coma, lifetime disabilities, and serious post-traumatic conditions, "the commission of barbaric acts," severe beatings in the presence of policemen who refused to intervene, and numerous ambush attacks (in one case with the complicity of the daily newspaper *Libération*).

Most of these acts of aggression were passed over in silence by the media or only briefly reported. Some were applauded by Jewish publications or organizations which, in general, after a few *pro forma* words of censure, suggested that the victims deserved their fate, that such attacks are "only natural and normal," and that no one need expect any leniency in future if he should ever again arouse Jewish "anger."

It is worthy of note that not one Jew has been the victim of a single attack in revenge by any "revisionist" or so-called "extreme right" group. (Although the press routinely lumps "revisionism" and the "extreme right" together, in reality historical revisionism receives support from thinking persons of all possible political views, from the ultra-left to the extreme right, and of all parties, except the Communists. Paul Rassinier, regarded as the founder of Holocaust revisionism in France, was a Socialist.)

From among the many attacks committed by Jewish militants or organizations, we shall confine ourselves here to mentioning only those involving the following victims: François Duprat, a GRECE conference, Marc Fredriksen (twice), Charles Bousquet, Michel Caignet, Pierre Sidos, Olivier Mathieu, Pierre Guillaume, the "Friends of Saint-Loup," and Robert Faurisson. Many other cases from the 1976-1991 period could be mentioned. (For example, on November 2, 1976, the building in which "National Front" leader Jean-Marie Le Pen was living had to be entirely destroyed after being rocked from top to bottom of its five floors in a dynamiting for which a "Jewish Remembrance Group" claimed responsibility. On April 2, 1991, Fabrice Benichou, a newsboy died in his home after having been beaten up while selling a weekly paper in the Sentier Jewish quarter of Paris.)

François Duprat

François Duprat, a member of the leadership of the National Front party, and an author and distributor of revisionist writings, was killed in his car on March 18, 1978, when it was blown up with a sophisticated bomb. His wife was severely injured. A "Remembrance Commando" claimed responsibility for the crime. In keeping with the practice of "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Patrice Chairoff had published in *Dossier néonazisme* ("The Neo-Nazi File," 1977), the name and address of Duprat, and of several other persons who were suspected of fascism, neo-Nazism, or revisionism (*Le Monde*, March 23, 1978, p. 7; April 26, 1978, p. 9).

In *Le Droit de vivre* ("The Right to Live"), the periodical of the "International League Against Rac-

ism and Anti-Semitism" (*Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme*, LICRA), Jean Pierre-Bloch, the publication's director, commented on Duprat's murder without saying a single word about the wife's injuries. His comments reflect a cabalistic mentality: while affecting disapproval of this "infamous" crime, he expresses the view that, in his opinion, the crime is due to the fact that in the years 1977-78 "anarchy and the reign of political score-settling" took hold in France, and that "criminal accusations were made against the immigrants, Jews or Gypsies." Jean Pierre-Bloch thus equates indisputable criminal *actions* with "criminal accusations," of which he in fact indicates neither the purport nor the consequences. Still more revealing is the following passage in his statement: "Yes, it is true. We are ready to fight and to die to permit our adversaries to say in complete freedom what they think as long as they don't defend crime or harbor racial hatred." In the context of this murder, these words constitute a warning to anyone who might displease the Jews by following Duprat's example (*Le Monde*, May 7-8, 1978).

A few months later, Jean Pierre-Bloch described Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, as an imitator of Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, Commissioner General of Jewish affairs in the wartime Vichy government, and then proclaimed: "Darquier will be extradited. Those who follow in his path can forget about living to a ripe old age. Sooner or later they will find the anti-racists on their trail." (*Le Droit de vivre*, Dec. 1978, p. 23). LICRA was founded in 1927 by Bernard Lecache under the name "League Against Pogroms" (*Ligue contre les pogroms*) to defend the Russian Jew Shalom Schwarzbart, who had assassinated Ukrainian General Simon Petlura in Paris the previous year. The public clamor organized on behalf of the assassin led to his acquittal. Similar public campaigns would much later lead to the acquittal of other assassins (such as the May 5, 1976, acquittal of the thug and murderer Pierre Goldmann).

Following the murder of François Duprat, an article appeared in the leading French daily *Le Monde* about an English revisionist pamphlet that had been distributed in France by Duprat. This article by journalist Pierre Vianson-Ponté, a smear job pure and simple, failed to make any mention of Duprat's assassination ("Le mensonge (suite)" ["The Lie (continued)"], *Le Monde*, 3-4 Sept. 1978, p. 9).

A GRECE Conference

On December 9, 1979, about a hundred individuals wearing helmets attacked the 14th national conference of GRECE (*Groupe d'études et de recherches sur la civilisation européenne*, "Group for the Study and Research of European Civilization").



François Duprat. This gifted 38-year-old educator was killed in a 1978 bomb blast, in which his wife was severely injured. A Jewish "Remembrance Commando" promptly claimed responsibility for the murder. No one was ever arrested for this crime.

Wrecking the book stands, they displayed banners bearing the name "*Organisation juive de défense*" (OJD, "Jewish Defense Organization"). Fifteen or so of the conference attendees were injured. One of them lost an eye. Several of the assailants were arrested by the police, and then released that same afternoon on the intervention of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch and a friend of Jacques Chirac [currently President of France]. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch had been involved, and would also later be involved, in other attacks and intercessions on behalf of these same attackers.

Marc Fredriksen

On September 19, 1980, a commando group of the "Jewish Defense Organization" (OJD) attacked sympathizers of Marc Fredriksen, an executive of FANE (*Fédération d'action nationale et européenne*, or "National and European Action Federation"), at the Paris Palace of Justice (court house). Six persons were injured, two of them seriously. The Palace of Justice guards, although



This "Chard" cartoon in *Rivarol*, April 26, 1991, depicts a French Jewish militant "in action." With official sanction, these self-appointed "thought police" terrorize real or imagined enemies. Although Jews attack French nationalists and revisionists with impunity, no French Jew has ever been the victim of an attack by nationalists or revisionists.

charged with maintaining order, permitted the Jewish militants in this case, as in all other similar circumstances, to act without or almost without hindrance.

On this occasion Jean Pierre-Bloch announced: "The law of retaliation might well appear again ... If a single one of our own is harmed, we shall apply the formula: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth ... If we have to organize militarily, we shall do so" (*Le Monde*, Oct. 1, 1980). The phrase "If a single one of our own is harmed ..." indicates that not a single Jew had been harmed. And what was true in 1980 is still true in 1995. In the course of their fighting against nationalists or revisionists the Jews harm, wound or kill but are themselves never harmed, wounded or killed. If a French "right wing" group had harmed a Jew, the media of the entire world would have played up the attack, with shocking photographs of the victim, gruesome details about the injury, follow-up interviews, and outraged commentary.

Charles Bousquet, Mark Fredriksen

On October 3, 1980, an attack against the Paris synagogue in the rue Copernic, which resulted in four dead and 27 wounded, received enormous international media coverage. The four dead were passersby, among them an Israeli woman whose presence has never been explained. That same day Interior Minister Christian Bonnet received information that allowed him to determine that this was a Palestinian attack, but under pressure from Jewish organizations and with the cooperation of the major newspapers, he let it be assumed that this was an action of the extreme right. It was later learned that the attack was actually committed by a Palestinian from Cyprus.

On the same evening as the synagogue attack, the FANE headquarters were wrecked and the *Librairie française* bookstore on the rue de l'Abbé-Grégoire street in Paris was the target of a new arson attempt. This bookstore, owned by Jean-Gilles Malliarakis, would undergo more than ten attacks or attempts over a period of just a few years. The headquarters of a small political party, *l'Oeuvre française*, directed by Pierre Sidos was machine-gunned. Lynching scenes unfolded in Paris, as groups of Jewish demonstrators attacked lone young passersby who were singled out because they were tall, blond, and with short hair (*Le Monde*, Oct. 9, 1980, p. 12).

A few days later, on October 7, Charles Bousquet, 84 years old, was attacked in his home in Neuilly with sulfuric acid by a group of unknown men who had apparently mistaken him for the militant nationalist, Pierre Bousquet (no relation to René Bousquet). He was hospitalized for a month at Foch Hospital in the major burns ward, and suffered after-effects from his injuries. He refused to press charges because his son Pierre, a professor of history at the University of Paris IV, has asked him not to "on account of the Israelites." He said: "They'll be in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, the ones who did it. It would all be useless. I want to forget it" (during a conversation with R. Faurisson, May 2, 1984).

On October 12, 1980, Mark Fredriksen was beaten up and admitted to the Rambouillet hospital in serious condition. His apartment was torn apart in his absence. While under treatment at Berck-sur-Mer for multiple fractures, he came close to suffering another attack: three young men showed up and asked to see him; their description matched that of the Aziza team that subsequently attacked Michel Caignat with acid (see below).

On October 20, 1980, the writer André Figuéras was attacked at his residence.

Michel Caignet

On the morning of January 29, 1981, Michel (Miguel) Caignet, a 26-year-old Sorbonne student who was preparing for a doctorate in Anglo-German linguistics, had just left his residence in Courbevoie to go to the university when he was accosted by four individuals. They knocked him down and prevented him from moving. One of the four attackers sprayed his face and his right hand with sulfuric acid.

Caignet had belonged to FANE, and he was a revisionist. He had been denounced by the weekly *VSD* (*Vendredi / Samedi / Dimanche*). Following the attack with acid, his face looked so hideous that only two newspapers ventured to publish his photograph. The principal perpetrator of the attack, Yves Aziza, a medical student and the son of Charles Aziza (an assistant pharmacist at Montreuil), was identified by the police within an hour of the crime. But in this case, as in others, the French police and courts scandalously permitted Yves Aziza to flee to Germany and to Israel. At the Justice Ministry, an official named Main at the criminal affairs bureau (headed by Raoul Béteille) sarcastically evaded every question put to him with regard to the 14-day delay in opening a judicial inquiry. Among Yves Aziza's correspondents was Daniel Ziskind, the son of Michèle Ziskind, sister of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, who is himself the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Sidos

On September 18, 1981, 200 members of the *Organisation juive de combat* (OJC) or "Jewish Combat Organization" laid down the law at the Palace of Justice in Paris, where the defamation trial brought by Pierre Sidos, president of *l'Oeuvre française*, against Jean-Pierre Bloch was taking place. As usual, Jewish thugs beat up several of the spectators.

On November 25, 1981, the premises of the *Études et documentation* bookstore were set on fire by a commando group.

On May 8, 1988, at Saint-Augustin Square in Paris, OJC commandos used iron bars to attack *l'Oeuvre française* supporters who were taking part in the traditional parade in honor of Joan of Arc. Some 15 supporters were injured, two of them very seriously. Four of the victims were hospitalized. A septuagenarian remained in a coma for several weeks. Ten OJC members were questioned by the police. That same afternoon Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch interceded with the criminal police investiga-



In November 1976, an enormous explosion ripped through the five-story building in which Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's "National Front," was living. A "Jewish Remembrance Group" claimed responsibility. So extensive was the damage that the entire building had to be torn down.

tion unit (*police judiciaire*) on their behalf. Legal proceedings were instituted against some of the attackers. Some attackers were released with the following notation by the examining magistrate: "preliminary examination inopportune." Other attackers were tried, though not without pressure "from the highest political level" being brought to bear on the public prosecutor's office. In total, only three of the attackers were tried. Each received a two-year *suspended* (!) prison sentence.

Olivier Mathieu

On February 6, 1990, millions of viewers witnessed the brutal attack against Olivier Mathieu during a television broadcast emceed by Christophe Dechavanne. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch came on to the stage with a group of OJC militants. Mathieu had just time enough to exclaim: "Faurisson is right." Then ten or so of the thugs severely beat him,



Michel Caignet, following the brutal 1981 attack against him outside his residence. Four assailants knocked the Sorbonne student to the ground and sprayed his face with sulfuric acid. None of the attackers was ever arrested for this crime.

the police, but released a few hours later on the intercession of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Guillaume

Pierre Guillaume, a leftist, is in charge of the *Vieille Taupe* ("Old Mole") publishers, which has issued a number of revisionist works, including those of Professor Faurisson. He has been the victim of a number of serious attacks, both against his person — at the Sorbonne, in his Paris bookstore, and at the Palace of Justice in Paris (where the guards did not intervene) — as well as against his property (book warehouse, video equipment, bookstore). In 1991, groups of demonstrators, most of them Jews, laid siege to his bookstore in the rue d'Ulm on a regular basis. As a result of various acts of violence (breaking shop windows, spraying chemical products, physical intimidation, etc.), they finally succeeded in closing it.

The 'Friends of Saint-Loup'

On April 20, 1991, at the "Maison des Mines" building in Paris, about 50 individuals claiming to be members of the *Groupe d'action juive* (GAJ), or "Jewish Action Group," and armed with iron bars and baseball bats, attacked the attendees of a meeting of the "Friends of Saint-Loup" ("*Les Amis de Saint-Loup*"), named after a deceased writer whose real name was Marc Augier. Thirteen persons, most of them elderly, were injured, two of them very seriously. Juliette Cavalié, 67 years of age, was taken to

his fiancée, and Marc Botrel. Among those present was an important figure among Jewish militants: Moshe Cohen, a former second lieutenant of the Israeli army and an officer at the time of the *Tagar* organization, the student branch of the *Betar* (59 boulevard de Strasbourg, Paris Xe). The attacks continued off stage and out into the street. One attacker was questioned by

Beaujon Hospital where she lapsed into a coma that lasted three months. After regaining consciousness, she was condemned to spend the rest of her days unable to walk or even to feed herself. Alain Léauthier, a journalist for *Libération* and a relative of the socialist deputy and Jewish zealot Julien Dray, witnessed the attack from beginning to end, and provided a smug and ironical report of it ("Zionist commando unit invites itself to the neo-Nazi meeting," *Libération*, April 22, 1991, p. 28).

Robert Faurisson

Europe's most prominent Holocaust revisionist scholar, Professor Robert Faurisson, was the victim of ten physical assaults between November 20, 1978, and May 31, 1993 (two in Lyon, two in Vichy, two in Stockholm and four in Paris). Seven of these attacks were at the hands of French Jewish organizations or militants — two in Lyon, one in Vichy, one in Stockholm (by Swedish Jews together with French Jews who had come from Paris by plane), one at the Sorbonne, and one at the Palace of Justice in Paris.

The first of these seven attacks took place on November 20, 1978. It was lauded in *Libération-Lyon* by the Jewish journalist Bernard Schalscha, who reported the day, the place, and the hour of the professor's courses. Members of the Jewish Students Union who had come by first-class train from Paris attacked the professor at the University, while Dr. Marc Aron, a cardiologist and president of the liaison committee of the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon, was present.

The second attack occurred a few weeks later when Faurisson attempted to resume his courses. On that day as well, Marc Aron was again at the university.

At the Sorbonne, on September 12, 1987, members of a Jewish group of militants attacked Henry Chauveau, Michel Sergent, Pierre Guillaume, Freddy Storer (a Belgian), and Professor Faurisson, all of whom were injured. (Chauveau was seriously injured.) The Sorbonne guards apprehended one of the attackers. A plainclothes policeman ordered the attacker released and used the violence as an excuse to expel the professor from the university. (Prof. Faurisson had once taught at the Sorbonne.)

On September 16, 1989, three men set a trap for Faurisson in a park near his residence in Vichy as he was out walking his poodle. After spraying a stinging gas into his face, temporarily blinding him, the assailants punched him to the ground and then repeatedly kicked him in the face and chest. If a passerby had not intervened, the attackers' kicks to the head would have been finished off the 60-year-old scholar. Badly injured, Faurisson had to undergo a lengthy surgical operation. The crime



Outside the main Paris court house, “Jewish Defense Organization” thugs attack sympathizers of Marc Fredriksen. The court house guards did not intervene in this September 19, 1980 attack, in which six persons were injured, two of them seriously. In this photo, the attackers’s faces have been partially blacked out to conceal their identities.

investigation unit inquiry confirmed that the attack could be attributed to “young Jewish activists from Paris.”

On the eve of the attack, Faurisson had noted with surprise the presence near the park of a certain Nicolas Ullmann (born in 1963). On July 12, 1987, Ullmann had violently struck the professor at the Vichy Sporting-Club. When he was questioned at the criminal investigation department about his presence in that area, he denied having been there. Moreover, Ullmann claimed that on the very day of the attack he had taken part in a masked ball (“bal masqué”) in Paris, so that it would be impossible for anyone other than his host and friend to vouch for his presence in Paris that day. It should be noted that the examining magistrate of Cusset, near Vichy, never summoned Faurisson to hear his testimony. Instead, judge Jocelyne Rubantel merely received him in her office in Cusset to inform him that she would ask for a dismissal of the charges — which she obtained. No search was made of the Paris headquarters of Betar/Tagar. Such a search would have incited too much “anger” in the Jewish community.

On October 16, 1989, precisely one month after the attack in Vichy, a bomb exploded at the door of the offices in Paris of *Choc du mois*, which were then ransacked. Credit for the attack was claimed by the “Jewish Combat Organization” (OJC) and some far

left groups. Éric Letty, who had devoted an article in *Choc du mois* to Professor Faurisson, would have been killed had he not, by a miracle, detected the imminence of the explosion.

We do not have space here to cite the other attacks against Professor Faurisson.

Other Cases

Many other cases could be cited of attacks by Jewish groups: in addition to the incidents during the years 1976-1991 listed in the *Choc du mois* article, there are other, unlisted, cases, as well as attacks that have occurred since 1992. To repeat: the total number of victims of Jewish terror amounts to several hundreds, even though, in contrast, not a single Jew has been the victim of a concerted or organized attack in France.

On January 14, 1988, in Lyon, Professor Jean-Claude Allard was hospitalized following a group attack against him for which the OJC claimed responsibility. The attackers ambushed him in the parking lot of the University of Lyon III. In June 1985, he had presided over the examining board of the thesis of revisionist scholar Henri Roques on “The ‘Confessions’ of Kurt Gerstein,” which have been widely regarded as key evidence for Holocaust gassings. (In an action without precedent in French academic history, the thesis’ defense was annulled under pressure by “angry” Jews. [The English-lan-



Robert Faurisson in a hospital bed following a nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989. A group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility for the savage assault. No one was ever arrested for this crime.

guage edition of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* is published by the IHR.))

Armed Jewish militants carried out new acts of violence on April 13, 1994, during a break in the trial of the "hooligans of the Parc des Princes," a Paris soccer stadium. (At least one of the hooligans was a Jew.) In this case the victims were policemen. The militants entered the Palace of Justice with weapons and iron bars, and one of the court house guards was attacked. "An interesting detail," one Paris paper noted. "No investigation was made to clear up the affair, and the only arrest made was that of one of the 'nationalist militants' who had been attacked and ventured to defend himself." ("Jewish militants make the law," *Le Libre Journal*, April 27, 1994, p. 9. See also: "The Betar makes the law in the Palace of Justice," *Rivarol*, April 22, 1994, p. 5).

On April 28, 1994, the German citizen Ludwig Watzal, an official guest of the University of Nanterre (near Paris), was struck by members of Jewish or leftist organizations.

Many bookstores have been wrecked. In addition to the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge, Ogmios, Librairie Française, and Librairie de la Vieille Taupe stores,

we may mention the Librairie de la Joyeuse Garde. (In the last-named case, shop windows were broken, steel safety shutters were glued shut, and excrement was strewn around.) Further targets of attacks, for which Jewish organizations claimed responsibility, have been offices, buildings, exhibitions, a book warehouse and a church (Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet in Paris, on December 21, 1978).

The Most Dangerous Place in France

For those who have been targeted for attack by the Jewish militants, the most dangerous city in France is Paris. Within Paris, one of the most dangerous districts is the first district, and within that district the most dangerous place is the Palace of Justice — the central courthouse — and the surrounding area. Paradoxically, this area is under particularly good police surveillance because the Palace has its own "military command" consisting of hundreds of armed guards, and because next to the Palace building is the "Quai des Orfèvres," headquarters of the police crime investigations department. As it happens, though, in recent years the guards and police have permitted many acts of violence to be carried out, especially against revisionists who have been summoned to court or who come to attend the trials.

When a group of Jewish militants decide to burst into the court building, the scenario is invariably as follows: the thugs, whose demeanor betrays their bellicose intentions, are in no way restrained by the guards from their intended victims. No officer attempts to inform these shock troopers that violence will not be tolerated. The assailants are permitted to insult, to provoke, and then to strike their victims. Sometimes guards will make an effort to protect victims. If a militant calls special attention to himself by extreme violence, three guards quickly take him away, but then let him go. Once the militants have completed their brutal work and have disappeared, the guards hasten to the bloody or swollen victims, fussing over them like concerned nannies. The victims are never able to get the police to interrogate the attackers, or even to learn their identities.

On May 9, 1995, a trial in which Professor Faurisson was the defendant was held in the Criminal Court (17th section of the *tribunal correctionnel*) without the interference of such militants. This was not surprising, though, because attorney Jean-Serge Lorach, who represented the plaintiffs in this case, announced in his pleading that he had asked "survivors" and reporters not to attend the trial. All the same, Betar/Tagar chief Moshe Cohen was present in the court with some colleagues. When the trial finished, Cohen was at the court building exit with four men (one of whom had a cellular phone) to

keep an eye on Faurisson, his attorney, and others who were accompanying them. Cohen's team had an unmarked police car (Renault 19 number 356JEK75) parked near the court building gate, positioned to leave quickly. Cohen, the Betar/Tagar group's "dirty jobs" specialist, was apparently there with the authorization of Robert Baujard, police commissioner of Paris' First District, and with the consent of Colonel Roger Renault, commander of the court guards, whose orders were to tell the curious that the vehicle belonged "to the police."

Collusion of the Interior Minister with Jewish Militants

In 1986, when Laurent Fabius was Prime Minister of France, his wife, Mme. Françoise Castro, revealed that the Jewish militants and the Interior Minister were working hand in hand. She stated: "An extraordinary novelty in political behavior: the Left has allowed Jewish militants to establish themselves in some quarters of Paris and also in Toulouse, Marseille, and Strasbourg [and to have] regular contacts with the Interior Minister." (*Le Monde*, March 7, 1986, p. 8). Castro and Fabius are both Jewish.

By a sort of consensus it seems to be generally agreed that the Jews must be treated in France as a privileged minority whose "anger" (*colère*) must be excused. (This word crops up in the press with nagging persistence.) By law, private militia groups are not legal in France. But the authorities allow one exception to this law. Jewish militants are the only ones permitted to bear arms in France. (See the photograph of a Jew armed with an automatic pistol on the roof of a building in the rue de Nazareth. *Libération*, Oct. 14, 1986, p. 56.) France's criminal police investigators are thus paralyzed in their investigations of crimes committed by these militants, who are euphemistically called "young Jewish activists of Paris." These militant groups enjoy at least a partial guarantee of impunity in France. The worst thing their members have to fear is having to go into exile in Germany or Israel for a spell.

Apologists for Jewish Violence

Simone Veil, former secretary general of the Magistrates Council and a former government minister, provides a prime example of persons in France's Jewish community who incite actual murder. In 1985, in connection with Klaus Barbie, she declared: "Listen, I believe very sincerely that I would not have been shocked by a summary execution [of Barbie]" (*Le Monde*, Dec. 24, 1985, p. 14). She repeated the statement on April 22, 1992, during a broadcast shown on the country's Second television network entitled "Vichy: Remembering and Forgetting." During a discussion of the Touvier trial



Millions of viewers saw "Jewish Combat Organization" thugs attack Olivier Mathieu during an interview broadcast on French television, February 6, 1990.

(which had disappointed her, in spite of the life imprisonment sentence handed down against the octogenarian with cancer), she said:

If we wanted a trial in which things are spoken of in their true light and that doesn't turn out like the Touvier trial, well then, in the last analysis it would have been necessary for someone, like me for example, at some moment or other to coldly murder someone.

The murderer would then be in a position, Simone Veil continued, to explain publicly the reasons for his act. She spoke in the same spirit in 1994, on the occasion of the murder of René Bousquet, which was committed by a visionary who had been incited by the frequent calls for vengeance appearing at the time in French newspapers and in Jewish circles. On that occasion, Veil declared: "Besides, if I'd had the courage, I'd have gone and killed him myself." (*Globe Hebdo*, May 11-17, 1994, p. 21).

On December 14, 1992, in report broadcast nationwide on the American PBS radio network, Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet could be heard saying in English: "I hate Faurisson. If I could, I'd kill him personally."

Calls for physical violence have appeared many times in French papers. An example: "As far as he is concerned, Jacques Kupfer, president of [the militantly Zionist] *Herout de France*, has a precise idea of the Jewish response to the FN [Front National]: 'I have never been of the opinion that anti-Semitism is settled by means of communiqués or philosophical discussions,' he said. 'But I know how you settle the problem of the anti-Semites: in a very physical manner. Jewish young people must be ready for that: there's no need to cry, or to be afraid, or to complain' ..." (Arié Ben Abraham, "Le Pacte communau-



Serge and Beate Klarsfeld

taire" [The Community Pact], *Tribune juive*, week of May 25 to June 1, 1995, p. 15.)

A list of incendiary statements by French Jews in positions of responsibility calling for physical violence would be a long one. Jews do not shrink from political assassination. On this subject, one may read the recent work of Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Political Assassination by Jews: A Rhetorical Device for Justice* (New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1993). We know the considerable role played by Jews in the Bolshevik revolution. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*.] In France, the song of the partisans was written by two Jews, Joseph Kessel (1898-1979) and Maurice Druon, both of whom were later members of the French Academy. The song's refrain is well known: "Hey there! Killers by gun or blade. Kill swiftly!" ("*Ohé! Les tueurs à la balle et au couteau. Tuez vite!*").

The Klarsfelds

For more than three decades, Serge Klarsfeld and his German-born wife, Beate, have dedicated themselves to tracking down "Nazi war criminals" and fighting "neo-Nazism" and Holocaust revisionism. In his *Lettre à un képi blanc* (1975, p. 93), Bernard Clavel wrote: "War poisons peace. Look at that German woman, Beate Klarsfeld, who passes life in hatred, who lives only for vengeance."

On July 24, 1978, at a news conference in Paris following the indictment in Cologne of Kurt Lischka, Serge Klarsfeld stated: "We are not seeking vengeance. If that were our aim, it would have been easy for us to kill all the Nazi criminals we have tracked down." "And if the court in Cologne refuses to try Lischka?" someone asked. Klarsfeld replied: "That in a way would be signing his death sentence" (*Le Monde*, July 26, 1978, p. 4). In 1982 the Klarsfelds engaged the services of a hired assassin, a Bolivian socialist of Indian origin named Juan Carlos, to assassinate Klaus Barbie (*Life*, Feb. 1985, p. 65), but the operation did not succeed.

During a 1986 interview with the *Chicago Tribune* (June 29, 1986), Beate Klarsfeld told "how she haunted at least three former Nazis until they committed suicide or died; how she organized attempts to kidnap others; how she used headline-making gimmicks to bring to trial or to ruin the careers of many who were convinced the world had forgotten them." She related how she slapped the face of German Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger in public in 1968. "Once, she and several friends tried to kidnap Kurt Lischka" but the operation failed because the car they were using had only two doors. As for Ernst Ehlers, "harassed by Klarsfeld-organized demonstrations outside his home, he first resigned his position [as judge] and then committed suicide."

After picking up the trail of Walter Rauff in Chile, the Klarsfelds organized demonstrations in front of his house and broke his windows. "He died a couple of months later," Beate Klarsfeld told the American daily. "I was glad, because as long as these people are alive, they are an offense to their victims." "My husband and I are not fanatics ... Once my husband held a pistol to the temple of



On April 20, 1991, several dozen thugs of the "Jewish Action Group" attacked a meeting in Paris of admirers of French writer "Saint-Loup." Léon Gaultier, shown here, is one of 13 persons injured in the attack.

Rauff, just to show that we could kill him, but he didn't pull the trigger."

In 1988, Serge Klarsfeld stated: "No one has really gone after Le Pen in dead earnest. We ought to have provoked confrontations with him so that ... he'd take the most extreme position possible." (*Le Soir* [Brussels], quoted in *Rivarol*, July 1, 1988, p. 5).

In 1991, Beate Klarsfeld entered Syria with fraudulent papers to go after Alois Brunner (who was already disfigured and missing most of his fingers as the result of letter bombs). In front of his presumed residence, she wanted to repeat the kind of demonstration that had been staged in front of the home of Paul Touvier in 1972 (which was broken into, looted, and laid waste). [See: "Alois Brunner Talks About His Past," in the Spring 1990 *Journal*, pp. 123ff.]

In 1992, the Klarsfelds organized what *Le Monde* (Oct. 21, 1992, p. 4) called "the savage escape of the Betar at Rostock ... spreading terror in the central square of the Rostock town hall, with French and Israeli flags displayed, calling passersby 'dirty Germans, dirty Nazis!'" A short time later Beate Klarsfeld expressed approval of the Betar attack against the Goethe Institute (German cultural center) in Paris, calling it an act of "legitimate violence" because the Rostock police had briefly held and questioned a few of the Jewish attackers. (*Der Standard* [Vienna], Oct. 23, 1992). Nine of the policemen had been injured, among them several who required hospitalization after being beaten with baseball bats and iron bars, and sprayed with "defensive" gas.

On June 8, 1993, René Bousquet, former secretary general of the police in the wartime Vichy government (and who was later deported by the Germans), was struck down in his Paris residence by a fanatic. The attacker, who spewed out verbiage à la Klarsfeld, explained his action as that of a lover of justice who had already tried to kill Paul Touvier. Writing in the French daily *Le Monde* (June 10, 1993, p. 28), Annick Cojean referred to Serge Klarsfeld: "Was he not the slayer of Bousquet? The one who had tracked him down, pursued him, attacked him, forced him to resign from his every position from 1978 to 1989? And was he not [by this killing] robbed of a long awaited trial? The lawyer [Klarsfeld] quietly smiles: 'Why deny it? What I feel today is relief above all. And if that runs counter to the interests of the trial, so be it! I can't be worrying about what those people want. That's too much for me.'"

Already on September 16, 1989, upon learning of the attack against Professor Faurisson, Serge Klarsfeld had stated in a broadcast on "Radio J" ("J" for "Jewish"):



France's double standard in the treatment of Zionist and "skinhead" criminals is pointed up in this "Chard" cartoon. "I hope they're not ready to come out, the swine," says a Jewish militant as he leaves prison.

It's not so surprising, because anyone who provokes the Jewish community for years on end has to expect an occurrence of this kind. You can't insult the memory of the victims without there being consequences. That may be regrettable, perhaps, but it's normal and only natural.

His wife, Beate, similarly stated: "What could be more normal than that some young people may have gotten angry and tried to teach Faurisson a lesson?." (*Le Monde*, Sept. 19, 1989, p. 14).

Although Serge Klarsfeld is an attorney and an officer of the National Order of Merit, he has never concealed his taste for violent action as long as the victims are persons he regards as "criminals." In the same spirit, he has also admitted resorting to lies and blackmail. (See: Arno Klarsfeld, "Pourquoi je suis juif" ["Why I am a Jew"], *Information juive*, June 1994, p. 9, and, S. Klarsfeld, "Lettre à François Mitterrand," *Libération*, Sept. 12, 1994, p. 6.)

In 1989, following the nearly fatal attack against him in Vichy, Faurisson shared some thoughts with *Choc du mois* (Dec. 1989, pp. 42f.) — remarks that have become all the more relevant with the passage of time and, in particular, the assassination of Bousquet. For the Klarsfelds or other such friends of the Israeli Embassy in Paris, said the Professor, "it is easy to arouse strong feelings and to stir into action those who mean to take justice into their own hands." Faurisson concluded:

I think ... that a Jewish terrorism exists. It is lamentable, and the lament covers the sounds of the blows and the screams of the victims... In order to silence me, it will be necessary to



Referring to the sanction given Jewish militants by French authorities, this cartoon shows Mme. Françoise Castro, wife of French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, telling a Jewish thug "Thanks to you and Joxe, we are less afraid of him. It's fantastic."

kill me. And a host of revisionists in France and abroad will then take my place.

Intimidation and Pressure

This essay deals with acts of *physical* violence committed by Jewish militant groups. It confirms that in this country the Jewish community, "happy as God in France" (a Yiddish proverb), enjoys exorbitant privileges. Other, *non-physical* actions further highlight these privileges. Consider two cases involving Robert Faurisson, at the University of Lyon II, and Bernard Notin, at the University of Lyon III. By law, each of these professors was incontestably entitled to practice his profession and resume his lectures.

Dr. Marc Aron decided otherwise. Along with such organizations as the Union of Jewish Students of France, he cynically declared that as far as they were concerned, these two teachers would *never again* be able to work. Without so much as a murmur, all the presidents of the Republic in succession, all the prime ministers, all the Education Ministers, all the university presidents, and all the labor unions promptly submitted to that edict.

Several months after the decision, Prof. Faurisson learned in a letter delivered by ordinary mail, and with no form of explanation, that his professorship had been eliminated.

In June 1994 Bernard Notin thought he had found a way out of this problem, and *Le Monde* announced (June 9, 1994, p. 14) that "Bernard Notin is leaving to teach in Morocco." But a few days later *Le Monde* reported (June 11, 1994, p. 6) that the announcement of his departure for the University of Oujda "had provoked a reaction of 'shock' [*scandalisée*] on the part of the Union of Jewish Stu-

dents of France (UEJF), which demands the cancellation of the contract signed by the two institutions (French and Moroccan) and 'the definitive dismissal of M. Notin from the teaching profession'."

Not a single major newspaper raised its voice to point out that Marc Aron and his institutions or organizations were gravely infringing on the rights of civil servants, hindering the freedom to work, and inflicting considerable injury not only to individuals but to the normal functioning of the country's institutions. In fear and trembling, French authorities acquiesced to Marc Aron and his militants. After seeing to it that two professors who had aroused their "anger" were no longer allowed to practice their profession, Aron and his friends were able to count on *Le canard enchaîné*, a satirical journal that specializes in denouncing scandals, to proclaim the "scandal" of two professors who are paid (on short allowance) for not working.

Organized Jewry and its influential cohorts excel in repression through the legal system and the media. "The unjust force of the law" operates on behalf of the Jewish community, and to the detriment of those who are labelled "anti-Jewish" or "anti-Semitic." Those who are so labelled find themselves severely punished for the least word or thought judged to be heretical. Fines, damages and imprisonment ruin their lives and destroy their families. The media, whose venom glands never run dry, contribute their part to this hysteria of vengeance.

In other countries as well, Jewish terrorism manifests the same characteristics. Apart from the extraordinary circumstances of the Judeo-Arab conflict, Jews act as aggressors without themselves ever being subject to physical attack by any group or organization, either anti-Jewish or reputed to be.

Conclusion

During the period under consideration here (1976-June 1995), no group, commando or militant has committed an act of physical violence against a Jew in France. (Attacks in the unusual context of the Arab-Jewish conflict are another matter.) But this remarkable fact seems to have escaped political observers of every stripe. The balance sheet up to now is as follows: on the one hand, some 50 acts of Jewish violence organized and carried out over a 20-year period by armed militants, resulting in hundreds of victims; and, on the other hand, not a single organized act of violence against a Jew.

With the Betar/Tagar organization, France's well-organized Jewish community possesses — with Interior Ministry approval — a paramilitary force the like of which does not exist for any other ethnic, religious or minority group in France.

As *Le Choc du mois* noted in its report on these

militant groups (June 1991, p. 11), the Fifth French television network, on April 4, 1990, broadcast a program on the Betar/Tagar militants. It showed a student receiving a beating at the hands of the "Tagarim" as he was leaving the (university) Faculté d'Assas in Paris.

On May 18, 1990, this same television network broadcast a second report devoted to the training of Betar/Tagar militants, "copied after that of the Israeli soldier," which they receive two times a week at a chateau in the vicinity of Sarcelles (a suburb of Paris): paramilitary exercises and close action combat training under the Israeli flag. Such exercises might conceivably be carried out for show, as a sort of "cinema" to impress people. But the training of Betar/Tagar militants finds expression in criminal attacks and commando operations that enjoy Interior Ministry protection, support (in fact if not in words) from so-called "anti-racist" organizations, and sympathetic treatment on the part of the media.

Annie Kriegel, who is Jewish, in 1990 denounced "an intolerable Jewish thought police" (*Le Figaro*, April 3, 1990, p. 2, and, *L'Arche*, April 1990, p. 25). In fact, this "thought police" acts with the authority of law, thanks to Rabbi Sirat, who launched the idea of an anti-revisionist law (*Bulletin de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1), and thanks to Laurent Fabius, who can justly claim credit for taking the parliamentary initiative in passing the law. (The Fabius-Gayssot law makes it a crime to "contest crimes against humanity" as defined by the 1946 Judgment of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal. On the basis of this law, several legal actions have been brought against Prof. Faurisson and many other revisionists. See, for example: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.) As a result of the disgustingly hyperbolic and obsequious media coverage of the desecration of Jewish graves in the Carpentras cemetery — a crime in which, it turns out, the son of a synagogue officiant was apparently involved — all opposition to the final vote on the Sirat-Fabius-Gayssot law was paralyzed.

Alongside this outrageous thought police, there exists in France an intolerable Israeli-style armed police that operates with unconcealed force.

A useful source of information about this entire subject is the detailed 416-page book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les Guerriers d'Israël: Enquête sur les milices sionistes* ("The Warriors of Israel: An investigation of Zionist militant groups," Facta, 37, rue d'Amsterdam, 75008 Paris, 1995).

On May 7, 1995, in Toronto (Canada), the home of revisionist Ernst Zündel was devastated in a criminal arson attack. A few days later, Zündel

received a booby-trapped package (which he turned over to the police, who exploded it). Many other examples of this kind of violence — usually preceded by a hateful press campaign — could be cited. Further information on this subject is given in *The Zionist Terror Network: Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and other Criminal Zionist Groups*, a booklet by Mark Weber published by the Institute for Historical Review (revised and updated edition, 1993).

There is a danger that such acts of violence will grow in number in France if the Jewish minority continues to have armed groups of militants at its disposal. Similar acts of terrorism will doubtless continue in France as long as the Jewish community continues to enjoy a privileged status in the country.

Pending such a drastic change, at least the Palace of Justice in Paris and its immediate surroundings should be closed off to any group or leader of any group (such as Moshe Cohen) whose terrorist intentions are manifest. It is outrageous that a certain category of persons who have been summoned to court, and those accompanying them, have had to fear physical attack while entering or leaving the 17th *chambre correctionnelle* court (presided over by Martine Ract-Madoux or Jean-Yves Monfort), or the 11th section of the Court of Appeals (presided over by Françoise Simon or Violette Hannoun).

Speaking of attacks against revisionists carried out in and in front of the court building, Jean-Pierre Bloch exclaimed in 1980: "The pip-squeak little Nazis got the thrashing they deserved in front of the Palace of Justice." (*Libération*, Sept. 24, 1980). It is shocking that Jewish militants are permitted to hang out at the court house with all the privileges accorded to officers of the national police. No one can pretend to be ignorant of these acts of physical violence, which the LICRA president was publicly sanctioning 15 years ago and which, for the past 15 years, have been occurring with the *complicity* of the forces of law and order. For 15 years, neither the magistrates nor the lawyers nor their respective labor unions have demanded that an end be put to this — a state of affairs that dishonors French justice.

As for Moshe Cohen, he should be reminded of his statement made a few years ago to *L'Événement du jeudi* (Sept. 26, 1991), that every Jew in France is "a displaced person" who has his real roots and future in Israel. He should heed his own advice, and should settle permanently there.

"Human history is a race between education and disaster."

— H. G. Wells

When an American President Said No to Israel

How Eisenhower Forced Israel to End Occupation After Sinai Crisis

DONALD NEFF

It was 39 years ago, on March 16, 1957, that Israel withdrew under unrelenting United States pressure from all the territory it had occupied in the Sinai peninsula during its invasion of Egypt less than five months earlier. As Israeli forces pulled out, they ignored pleas from United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and displayed their contempt for US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policy by systematically destroying all surfaced roads, railway tracks and telephone lines. All buildings in the tiny villages of Abu Ageila and El Quseima were destroyed, as were the military buildings around El Arish.¹

Israel's dogged insistence on keeping by military occupation parts of the Sinai had led to increasingly tense relations between Eisenhower and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. From the very beginning of what became known as the Suez crisis Eisenhower had forcefully opposed the secret plot by Britain, France and Israel to invade Egypt. Against great political pressures, Ike had managed to stop the ill-considered invasion—but not before Israeli troops grabbed Egypt's Sinai peninsula in a lightning surprise attack starting October 29, 1956.

Britain and France followed Eisenhower's firm advice and quickly removed their troops from Egypt. But Israel insisted on retaining parts of the peninsula. Despite repeated U.S. urgings, Ben-Gurion refused to withdraw Israeli troops. In retaliation, Eisenhower joined with 75 other nations in the UN General Assembly in passing a resolution on February 2, 1957, "deploring" Israel's occupation. Only two nations opposed: France and Israel.²

Still, Ben-Gurion refused to move his troops. On February 11, Eisenhower sent a forceful note to

Ben-Gurion to withdraw. Again Ben-Gurion refused. At the same time, the influence of Israel's supporters became intense. The White House was besieged by efforts to halt its pressure on the Jewish state; 41 Republican and 75 Democratic congressmen signed a letter urging support for Israel.³

'Terrific Control'

In reaction to mounting pressures against his policy, Eisenhower on February 20 called a meeting of the congressional leadership to seek their support for his position. But the lawmakers, sensitive to the influence of the Israeli lobby, refused to help, causing Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to complain to a friend: "I am aware how almost impossible it is in this country to carry out a foreign policy [in the Middle East] not approved by the Jews." In other conversations around the same time, Dulles remarked on the⁴

terrific control the Jews have over the news media and the barrage which the Jews have built up on congressmen ... I am very much concerned over the fact that the Jewish influence here is completely dominating the scene and making it almost impossible to get Congress to do anything they don't approve of. The Israeli Embassy is practically dictating to the Congress through influential Jewish people in the country.

Disgusted with Congress's timidity, Eisenhower boldly decided to take his case directly to the American people. He went on national television on the evening of February 20 and explained:⁵

Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If we agreed that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order.

If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the

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organization and our best hope of establishing world order. The United Nations must not fall. I believe that in the interests of peace the United Nations has no choice but to exert pressure upon Israel to comply with the withdrawal resolutions.

Not Words Alone

Ike did not depend only on words. While he expressed his principled position in public, privately that same day he sent a stern message to Ben-Gurion warning of punitive actions if Israel did not withdraw. Eisenhower threatened that he would approve trade sanctions against Israel and might also cut off all private assistance to Israel, which amounted to \$40 million in tax-deductible donations and \$60 million annually in the purchase of bonds.⁶ This combination of public diplomacy and private grit paid off. On February 27, Israel announced it accepted the U.S. position on withdrawal.⁷

Although Zionists continue to criticize Eisenhower to this day, painting his policy as flawed and shortsighted, his actions in the Suez crisis represent one of the brightest, most principled victories of US diplomacy. Eisenhower had acted, as he later recalled, on the basis of his belief that "change based on principle is progress; constant change without principle becomes chaos."⁸ In detailing his thinking, Ike wrote in his memoirs:⁹

Some critics have said that the United States should have sided with the British and French in the Middle East, that it was fatuous to lean so heavily on the United Nations. If we had taken the advice, where would it have led us? Would we now be, with them, an occupying power in a seething Arab world? If so, I am sure we would regret it. During the campaign, some political figures kept talking of our failure to 'back Israel.' If the administration had been incapable of withstanding this kind of advice in an election year, could the United Nations thereafter have retained any influence whatsoever? This, I definitely doubt.

America and Eisenhower emerged from the crisis with enhanced moral authority and prestige around the world. Noted Eisenhower's major biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose: "Eisenhower's insistence on the primacy of the UN, of treaty obligations, and of the rights of all nations gave the United States a standing in world opinion it had never before achieved."¹⁰

'Champion of Right'

This became immediately clear to American diplomats. Ike's UN ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, telephoned the president and reported at one point

during the crisis: "Never had there been such a tremendous acclaim for the president's policy. Absolutely spectacular." From Cairo, Ambassador Raymond Hare cabled: "The US has suddenly emerged as a real champion of right."¹¹ Added Ambrose: "The small nations of the world could hardly believe that the United States would support a Third World country, Egypt, in a struggle with colonial powers that were America's two staunchest allies, or that the United States would support Arabs against Israeli aggression. But it was true, and the small nations were full of admiration and delight. The introduction of the American [cease-fire] resolution to the UN was, indeed, one of the great moments in UN history."¹²

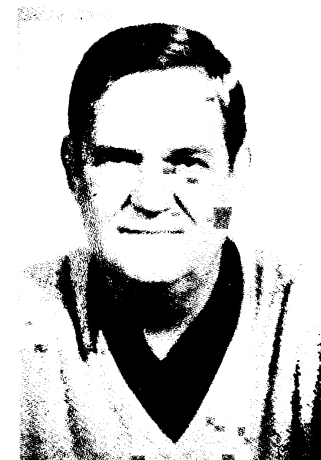
Eisenhower's handling of the crisis was a high point of his presidency. It upheld the authority and moral stance of the United Nations and the ideals of the United States. As difficult and painful as his actions were to take against such traditional allies as Britain and France, Eisenhower nonetheless had spurned short-term political gain and instead acted out of principle.

A Far Different Story

It was a far different story when Israel lashed out again eleven years later [June 1967], this time occupying not only the Sinai but lands of Jordan and Syria. Lyndon B. Johnson was president, and he had neither Ike's international experience nor his political strength. Instead Johnson was a fervent supporter of Israel, acutely aware of its influence in domestic politics, and made the fateful mistake of not taking any action to oppose Israel's acquisition of territory by force in 1967.

This led directly to the 1973 war in which Egypt and Syria sought to regain their land. After that war, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, a critic of Ike's Suez policy, made another fateful mistake. He accepted Israel's "right" to use the territories it illegally held in occupation as bargaining chips for a number of conditions for withdrawal.

Before Kissinger was through, he had managed to give to Israel the largest transfer of US treasury, technology and diplomatic support ever voluntarily granted by one country to another. In return, Israel surrendered minor tracts of land but maintained its occupation over nearly two million Palestinians for two decades more.



Donald Neff



Henry Kissinger

Secret Agreements

This astonishing bargain reached its culmination on September 4, 1975, with the signing of the second Sinai disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel.¹³ Beyond promises of aid to Israel at around a \$2 billion annual level for each of the next five years,¹⁴ Kissinger signed a sweeping series of secret understandings providing a broad array of pledges to Israel. One of these committed the United States to "make every effort to be fully responsive...on an on-going and long-term basis to Israel's military equipment and other defense requirements, to its energy requirements and to its economic needs." The memorandum officially committed American support against threats by a "world power," meaning the Soviet Union.

In essence, Sinai II, as it became known, formally allied the United States with Israel and its occupation of Arab lands. As then-Defense Minister Shimon Peres observed at the time: "The ... agreement has delayed [an international peace conference in] Geneva, while ... assuring us arms, money, a coordinated policy with Washington and quiet in Sinai We gave up a little to get a lot."¹⁵

Indeed, in return for all this Israel gave up only a few miles of desert territory in the Sinai that nearly every nation in the world believed it had no right to keep under military occupation. It retained all of Jordan's West Bank, all of Syria's Golan Heights and about half of Egypt's Sinai. But unlike

Eisenhower, who did not pay a penny for Israel's 1957 withdrawal, Kissinger and President Gerald Ford paid a fortune, mainly because they had failed to stand by principle and instead favored Israel to gain partisan political advantage.

Consequences of Kissinger's Policy

Kissinger's policy was prohibitively costly to the United States. By making Israel the military superpower of the region, the Kissinger policy also led to tragic events. These included Israel's bloody 1982 invasion of Lebanon, an action based on its new arrogance of power stemming from US-supplied weaponry. Even graver, however, was the fact that Israel was allowed by Washington to continue its occupation and settlement of Jordanian and Syrian land. This occurred during the same period that the United States became Israel's major patron and supporter starting in the 1970s under President Richard M. Nixon and Kissinger.

The dramatic increase of US aid while Israel violated official US policy against military occupation was a declaration to the world that where the Jewish state was concerned politics outweighed principle. These events led to the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Yigal Amir, the murderer, was one of the Jewish fanatics who emerged during the long occupation and were dedicated to retaining the occupied territories. Had Kissinger, like Ike, driven Israel off the occupied land, Amir's motive for the assassination would never have existed. The occupation would not have lasted nearly three decades and the extremist cult devoted to keeping the land that began growing strong in Israel in the 1970s would not have come into being.

As a final irony, Kissinger to this day is considered a great statesman for his Sinai agreement, while the Suez crisis and Ike's brave actions are barely remembered. David Halberstam did not even bother mentioning the 1956 crisis in his recent best-selling book *The Fifties*, dedicated to the major events of that decade. That is more than a sad commentary on the relative merits of the policies pursued by the two men. It is a stunning reminder of how strong Zionist influence is in the American media when it comes to molding perceptions of US policy in the Middle East.

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Notes

1. Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 243.
2. Resolution 1124 (XI). Text in Tomah, *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Vol. 1, p. 39.
3. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, p. 78.
4. Transcripts of Dulles telephone conversations on Feb. 11, 12 and 19, 1957. Quoted in Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, p. 433.
5. Text is in US State Department, *American Foreign Policy Current Documents, 1957*, pp. 923-28. Also see Love, *Suez*, p. 666.
6. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, pp. 433-35.
7. Dana Adams Schmidt, *The New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1957.
8. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, p. 13.
9. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, p. 99.
10. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 361.
11. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, p. 417.
12. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 361.
13. Text of the agreement and of the memorandum of understanding (MOU) and its secret addenda are in Medzini, *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents, 1974-77* (Vol. 3), pp. 281-90. Also see Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger*, Appendix Eight.
14. Over the next five years the State Department reported total aid to Israel equalled \$1.742 billion in 1977, \$1.792 billion in 1978, \$4.790 billion in 1979, \$1.786 billion in 1980 and \$2.164 billion in 1981. See *The New York Times*, August 8, 1982.
15. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger*, p. 192. Peres refused to be identified in the article but the author was head of the Time bureau at the time and one of his reporters interviewed Peres for the quote.

Eisenhower's Farewell Warning

On January 17, 1961, a few days before concluding his second term in office, President Dwight Eisenhower delivered a stern "farewell address" to the nation. Although best known for his warning about the power and influence of the "military industrial complex," he expressed other grave concerns about America's future. Some excerpts:

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of them involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this preeminence we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment ...

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades. In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of the federal government ... The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded ...

... As we peer into society's future, we — you and I, and our government — must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage ...

World War II and the Military-Industrial-Congressional Complex

ROBERT HIGGS

On January 17, 1961, just before leaving office, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave a farewell address to the nation in which he called attention to the “conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry.” He warned that “in the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”

As Eisenhower spoke, the military-industrial complex was celebrating its twentieth birthday. The vast economic and administrative apparatus for the creation and deployment of weapons took its enduring shape during the two years preceding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. It grew to gargantuan proportions during the war, then survived and flourished during the four decades of the Cold War. By the 1950s, members of Congress had insinuated themselves into positions of power in the complex, so that one is well justified in calling it the military-industrial-congressional complex (MICC) during the past forty years.

The powerful role played by the MICC in the second half of the twentieth century testifies to a fact that Americans have seldom faced squarely: World War II did not end in a victory for the forces of freedom; to an equal or greater extent, the defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies represented a victory for the forces of totalitarian oppression in the Soviet Union and, later, its surrogates around the world. Hence, in 1945, Americans merely traded one set of aggressive enemies for another. In reality, the war did not end until the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the degeneration of its armed forces in the early 1990s. In America, the long war — from

1940 to 1990 — solidified the MICC as an integral part of the political economy.

Its antecedents hardly suggested how quickly and hugely the MICC would grow. Prewar military budgets were very small: during the fiscal years 1922-1939 they averaged just \$744 million, roughly one percent of GNP. In those days, military purchases were transacted according to rigidly specified legal procedures. Normally, the military purchaser publicly advertised its demand for a definite quantity of a specific item, accepted sealed bids, and automatically awarded the contract to the lowest bidder. Moreover, few businessmen wanted military business or any dealings with the New Deal government. When *Fortune* magazine surveyed business executives in October 1940, it found that seventy-seven percent had reservations about doing rearmament work because of their “belief that the present administration in Washington is strongly antibusiness and [their] consequent discouragement over the practicability of cooperation with this administration on rearmament.”

But conditions changed dramatically between mid-1940 and late 1941. During that period, Congress appropriated \$36 billion for the War Department alone — more than the army and navy combined had spent during World War I. With congressional authorization, the War and Navy departments switched from using mainly sealed-bid contracts to mainly negotiated contracts, often providing that the contractor be paid his full costs, however much they might be, plus a fixed fee. Contracts could be changed to accommodate changes in the contractor’s circumstances or poor management in performing the work. In these and other ways, military contracting was rendered less risky and more rewarding. As Secretary of War Henry Stimson said at the time, “If you are going to try to go to war, or to prepare for war, in a capitalistic country, you have got to let business make money out of the process or business won’t work.”



Robert Higgs

Robert Higgs is research director for the Independent Institute in Oakland, California, the author of *Crisis and Leviathan*, and the editor of *Arms, Politics, and the Economy*. This essay is reprinted from the May 1995 issue of *Freedom Daily*, published monthly by the Future of Freedom Foundation (FFF), 11350 Random Hills Rd., Ste. 800, Fairfax, VA 22030.

Great Profits

Businessmen worked, to be sure, and they made money — far more than anyone had dreamed of making during the Depression. Much of the more than \$300 billion the government spent for war goods and services ended up in the pockets of the contractors and their employees. According to a contemporary study, rates of return on net worth ranged from twenty-two percent for the largest companies to forty-nine percent for the smaller firms — extraordinary profits given that the contractors bore little or no risk. Large manufacturing firms enjoyed the bulk of the business. The top one hundred prime contractors received about two-thirds of the awards by value; the top ten got about thirty percent; the leading contractor, General Motors, accounted for nearly eight percent. The military research and development contracts with private corporations were even more concentrated. The top sixty-eight corporations got two-thirds of the R&D awards; the top ten took in nearly two-fifths of the total.

The government itself became the dominant investor, providing more than \$17 billion, or two-thirds of all investment, during the war. Besides bankrolling ammunition plants, the government built shipyards, steel and aluminum mills, chemical plants, and many other industrial facilities. Thanks to government investment and purchases, the infant aircraft industry soared to become the nation's largest, building 297,000 aircraft by the war's end. One might justifiably call this government investment "war socialism."

Concentration of Power

But it had a peculiarly American twist that makes "war fascism" a more accurate description. Most of the government-financed plants were operated not directly by the government but by a relatively small group of contractors. Just twenty-six firms enjoyed the use of half the value of all governmentally financed industrial facilities leased to private contractors as of June 30, 1944. The top 168 contractors using such plants enjoyed the use of more than eighty-three percent of all such facilities by value. This concentration had important implications for the character of the postwar industrial structure because the operator of a government-owned, contractor-operated facility usually held an option to buy it after the war, and many contractors did exercise their options.

The arrangements created in 1940 and refined during the next five years completely transformed the relations between the government and its military contractors. In the words of Elberton Smith, the official army historian of the mobilization, the relationship "was gradually transformed from an



President Dwight Eisenhower

'arms length' relationship between two more or less equal parties in a business transaction into an undefined but intimate relationship." The hostility that businessmen had felt toward the government in 1940 evolved into a keen appreciation of how much a company could gain by working hand-in-glove with the military.

During the Cold War these relationships became institutionalized. Between 1948 and 1989, the government spent more than \$10 trillion (in dollars of today's purchasing power) for national defense, and much of the money found its way into the bank accounts of the defense contractors, their employees, and their suppliers. The procurement business remained as it had become during the war — fluid and subject to mutually beneficial adjustment. Transactions were not so much firm deals as ongoing joint enterprises among colleagues and friends in which military officials and businessmen cooperated to achieve a common goal not incompatible with, but rather highly facilitative of, the pursuit of their separate interests.

Profitable Interdependence

Aside from the serenity that attends the spend-

ing of other people's money, military-industrial dealings were smoothed by the personal passages back and forth across the border between the government and the contractors. People spoke of the "old boy network" and the "revolving door." Upon retirement, thousands of military officers found immediate employment with the contractors, while industry officials routinely occupied high-ranking positions in the Pentagon bureaucracy during leaves from their firms. It was easy to forget who worked for whom. As General James P. Mullins, former commander of the Air Force Logistics Command, remarked, the defense business "is not business as usual among *independent* parties. This is a family affair among terribly *interdependent* parties."

The families tended to do well. When Ruben Trevino and I made a study of the profitability of defense contracting (published in *Defence Economics*, 1992, pages 211-218), we found that during the period 1970-1989, the profit rates of the top fifty defense contractors substantially exceeded those of comparable nondefense companies. This conclusion holds regardless of whether profits are measured by the firms' accounting rate of return on investment or assets or by the stock-market payoff to shareholders in the form of dividends and capital gains. We also found that investing in defense contractors was not significantly riskier than investing in comparable nondefense companies. In short, this business has been very good to those involved in it.

Even when companies got into trouble, they could expect to be bailed out. Lockheed, Litton, General Dynamics, Chrysler, Grumman, and other leading defense contractors demonstrated that the Pentagon's propensity to protect its big prime contractors outweighed the inclination to hold them to the terms of their contracts. To subsidize the favored firms, the Department of Defense provided for subsidies to keep facilities open and to finance ongoing R&D, loans and loan guarantees, government-supplied plants and equipment, tax breaks, and strategic placement of new contracts.

Wasteful Spending

Congress, as usual, went where the money was. Defense-related jobs served as a major determinant of congressional defense decisions for both liberals and conservatives. Members of Congress strove to steer contracts and subcontracts to favored constituents, who rewarded them in turn with lavish campaign contributions, votes, and other payoffs. Congressional micro-management of the defense program grew ever more elaborate as lawmakers grasped new opportunities to control the disposition of defense resources. Resistance to base closures, in particular, prompted the most exquisite legislative

maneuvers. For more than a decade after 1977, the Pentagon found it impossible to close any large defense facility, no matter how obsolete or otherwise unwarranted. Weapons systems no longer desired by the military, such as A-7 and A-10 aircraft in the early 1980s, got extended funding, thanks to the efforts of friendly legislators.

Military Adventurism

This waste of money had many other pernicious consequences. With great corporations, powerful military authorities, and members of Congress all linked in a mutually self-serving complex, there was little incentive to end the Cold War. Not that anyone craved World War III. But wealth, position, power, and perquisites all rode on the shoulders of the MICC. The best of all worlds, then, was massive, ongoing preparation for war that would never occur. But with the nation well-prepared for war, national leaders launched more readily into military adventures like those in Korea and Vietnam, not to mention a variety of smaller projections of force abroad. Among the costs of the MICC, we might count the more than 112,000 American deaths sustained in the Cold War's hot engagements.

In retrospect, we can see clearly that World War II spawned the MICC and that the war's long continuation as the Cold War created the conditions in which the MICC could survive and prosper. America's economy sacrificed much of its potential dynamism as the massive commitment of resources to military R&D diverted them from the civilian opportunities being pursued with great success in Japan, Germany, and elsewhere. For the period 1948-1989, national defense spending consumed, on average, 7.5 percent of American GNP. The costs to liberty were also great, as national defense authorities, using the FBI, CIA, and other agencies, violated people's constitutional rights on a wide scale.

When we are tempted to look back at World War II as the "good war," we would do well to consider the full range of its consequences.

Lying

"He who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and a third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions."

— Thomas Jefferson, August 19, 1785

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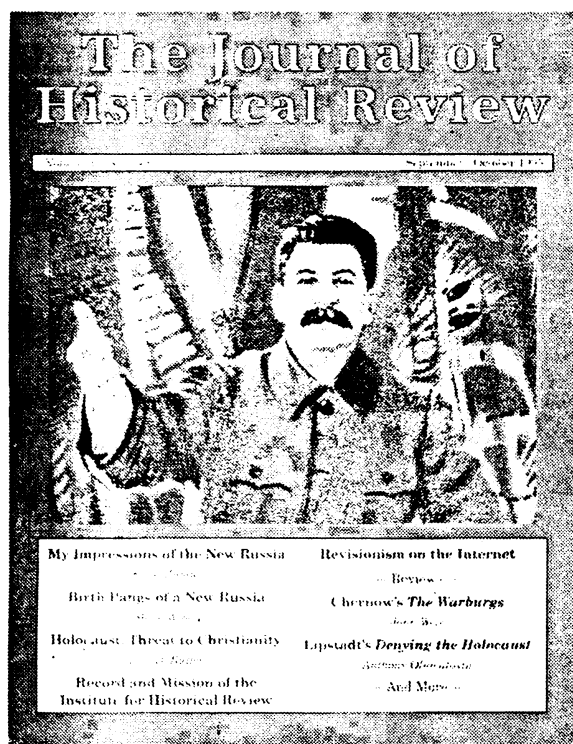
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A New Version of the Holocaust Story

ROBERT FAURISSON

More than two years ago — in an essay I wrote on September 22, 1993 — I said that one day organized Jewry eventually would be obliged to give up the lie about Nazi gas chambers, while at the same time still insisting that “the Holocaust” is an irrefutable truth. That day came in December 1995, when a lengthy article, “De mythe van de efficiënte massamoord” (“The myth of the efficient mass murder”), written by a Dutch university professor of Polish-Jewish ancestry, appeared in the Netherlands journal *Intermediair* (Dec. 15, 1995).

While Prof. Michel Korzec predictably criticizes the revisionists, he also acknowledges the value of their arguments, and calls for an end to the legal persecution of revisionism. The revisionists, he writes, “are especially active in the United States, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Australia. They publish books and organize scholarly conferences and symposia ... The American revisionists publish their scholarly-appearing magazine in California under the title *Journal of Historical Research* [sic] ... The worldwide club of Holocaust revisionists is a very mixed group. It certainly includes neo-Nazis, but also anarchists, (ex-) Marxists and even people of Jewish ancestry.”

Korzec declares that too much emphasis has been placed on the gas chambers and the number of gassed victims. With almost cabalistic dialectic adroitness, he argues that it is the Germans, and not the Jews, who are responsible for this error. “Were six million Jews really killed by the Nazis, as affirmed at Nuremberg and elsewhere?” Korzec asks. His answer is: “Very likely...the final figure is five million.” He then adds: “Of this five million perhaps 700,000 to 800,000 were gassed.” Korzec does not tell us how he arrives at these figures, which is all the more remarkable because he acknowledges that he does not know how many Jews perished in camps such as Treblinka and Sobibor, or even in Auschwitz or Birkenau. He writes: “In other extermination camps as well, such as Treblinka and Sobibor, fewer people were killed than has so far been affirmed or assumed. How many fewer? We still don’t know.”



Robert Faurisson at the April 1993 IHR meeting in suburban Washington, DC.

For half a century, Korzec maintains, “American, Russian, English and Israeli propaganda has held fast to the ‘industrial-bureaucratic’ interpretation of the Holocaust. This interpretation gives the demonic character of this mass murder a special dimension.” According to this view, only a few Germans were involved in a small number of chemical slaughterhouse killings.

In fact, writes Korzec, “most of the Jews were killed by primitive means: shooting, beating, hanging, starvation.” Because the “final solution” killings were carried out on “local initiative” in numerous locations in eastern Europe, many more

Germans took part in the "mass murder" than has been assumed. In other words, he maintains, the fewer the number of gassed Jews, the greater the number of "guilty" Germans. Consistent with this thesis, Korzec shamelessly suggests that Germany's judicial authorities punish people for "Holocaust denial" (which is often referred to there as "the Auschwitz lie") in order to give credibility to a view that is favorable to the Germans — namely that only a small number of Germans participated in the "mass murder" of Jews.

Flemish-Belgian publisher Siegfried Verbeke, who has shown extraordinary courage in bringing out numerous revisionist books and a revisionist periodical, reproduces in facsimile the entire text of Korzec's *Intermediair* article in a recent issue of his *VHO Nieuwsbrief*. Verbeke regards this article as significant because a Dutch professor is promoting a public discussion that is taboo in the Netherlands. (For more about Verbeke and his VHO Foundation, see the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 46).

Swiss educator Jürgen Graf, author of several revisionist works in German and French, shows similar courage and dedication. (I am grateful to him for the translation of Korzec's article.) Graf wonders if Korzec's article is a unique view, or if it is perhaps a "trial balloon" to test public reaction to a new version of the Holocaust story. He tends to believe the second hypothesis, because he doubts that a Jewish professor could afford to show such audacity in publishing this article in the Netherlands without first consulting the country's Jewish leaders.

I, for one, regard this article as a personal initiative of Prof. Korzec, but also as part of an inevitable process by the Jews themselves to revise Holocaust history. The Jews have already abandoned the "Jewish soap" myth (that the Germans made soap bars from the bodies of their victims), while at the same time impudently claiming that this lie was invented by the Germans. Jews have similarly given up the claim of four million Auschwitz victims, while insolently contending that this is a lie of Polish origin.

Accordingly, I am not surprised that a Jewish professor now argues that the story of the gas chambers as the *main* "Holocaust" instrument is a lie that serves German interests. Nine years ago, two French Jews put forward the thesis that the Germans invented the gas chamber story as a "time bomb" that they knew would one day explode against the Jews. (Letter by Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione in the periodical *Article 31*, Jan.-Feb. 1987, p. 22.)

— March 15, 1996

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions around the world, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

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For more about the IHR and the cyberspace revolution, see "Revisionist Global Computer Outreach" in the July-August 1995 *Journal*.

Corrections

A few errors appeared in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*:

Page 35, column 2, line 30: "such" should be "should," so the sentence reads: "Anyone who thinks so should listen carefully to an hour of Elie Wiesel."

Page 42, column 1, lines 25-26: The figures 41, 28, and 17 do not add up to 91. The error is in the original article. It appears that altogether 91 or 92 persons were killed in the July 22, 1946, bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem.

Page 44, column 1, line 15: "Bemoaning Netanyahu" should, of course, be "Benjamin Netanyahu."

Page 45, column 1: The error in the subtitle of the book by Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*, is in the original article. The correct title is *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1848*.

Argentina Revisionist Magazine Part of Worldwide Network

Since 1992 a group of revisionists in Argentina has been publishing an attractive, illustrated revisionist magazine that proclaims its purpose on the front cover of each issue: "Revising history to reestablish the truth."

Capably edited by Andrés Seljan, *Revisión* is published irregularly by the "Paul Rassinier Studies Center" of Buenos Aires, named for the courageous French educator who is regarded as the "father of Holocaust revisionism." (Rassinier was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 for anti-German Resistance activities and interned until the end of the war in the Dora and Buchenwald concentration camps.)

The Center also distributes Spanish-language editions of *The Leuchter Report*, Thies Christophersen's memoir about his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, Richard Harwood's "Six Million" booklet, and other popular revisionist writings, as well as a Spanish-language edition of an IHR leaflet, "66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust."

Revisión is yet another expression of the revisionist movement's international scope and vitality. Revisionist periodicals are now published in a number of countries — sometimes in defiance of government-imposed restrictions — including Spain, France, Germany, Brazil, Poland, Sweden and Belgium. In addition, revisionist books and booklets are published in Russia, Britain, Japan, Hungary, Canada, Australia, Ukraine, Egypt, Switzerland, Turkey, Mexico and other countries.

The 66-page, May 1995 issue of *Revisión* features a ten-page report (translated from the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*) on the Twelfth IHR Conference, with a photo of the Conference speakers. This issue also contains a nine-page article about Franklin Roosevelt and the infamous "secret map" he cited in a 1941 radio address. Claiming that this document proved a secret German plan to occupy South America, the President used it to whip up public sentiment for war against Germany. As the article goes on to explain, this "secret map" was, in fact, a fraud, fabricated by the British secret service.

Also in the May 1995 issue is a lengthy article, reprinted from a revisionist magazine in Spain, on wartime Allied terror bombing of Germany, and an article by John Ries (translated from the Fall 1992 *Journal*) on the suppressed story of the greatest naval catastrophes in history.

Shorter items round out this issue of *Revisión*, including several translated from issues of this *Journal*.

The 44-page, May 1994 issue of *Revisión* includes a nine-page article on the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, and a 17-page article (translated from the Spring 1986 *Journal*) by IHR adviser Georg Franz-Willing on the origins of the Second World War.

The May 1992 issue of *Revisión* includes two articles reprinted from a revisionist magazine in Spain. One is a 14-page essay on "The Victims of Potsdam" by Jorge Lobo, and another is a 17-page article by Carlos Cabellero on the "Victims of Yalta." Also in this 66-page 1992 issue is a five-page essay by Robert Faurisson, and a translation of a twelve-page essay by Mark Weber (from the Spring 1981 *Journal*) on the US government's wartime concentration camps of Japanese Americans. Rounding out this issue is a six-page article "Qué es el IHR?" ("What is the IHR?").

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Study of Roosevelt's Path to Pearl Harbor Debunks Popular Historical Myths

A Time For War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor, by Robert Smith Thompson. New York: Prentice Hall, 1991. xiii+449 pages. Hardcover. Photos. Source notes. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop

In the popular view, the origin of America's war with Japan is clear: without provocation, the dastardly Japanese launched a sneak attack against us at Pearl Harbor. Japan's militaristic warlords, together with their totalitarian Axis partners, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, were bent on savage world conquest and global domination. America, militarily weak but morally strong, recovered from the "day of infamy" attack to subdue Japan and its Axis partners, and save the world.

With help from the mass media and a community of "court historians," Americans widely accept this portrayal of the conflict as a struggle between angels and devils. Over the years, though, revisionist historians such as Charles Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes, John Toland and John Costello have thoroughly discredited this feel-good establishment account.

Among the facts of "inconvenient history" cited by revisionists are President Franklin Roosevelt's threats and ultimatums to Japan, the tightening US trade embargo of Japan, unlawful US aid to Japan's enemies, and American foreknowledge of an imminent Japanese attack against US bases some time in early December 1941 based on a reading of Japan's secret military and diplomatic codes.

In this book, Robert Smith Thompson, a lecturer on foreign policy at the University of South Carolina, re-affirms the established revisionist view of the war's origins, but with a focus on the role of China in the interwar period. He understands, of course, that Japan was hardly blameless, and it is not his purpose to deny Japanese aggression or atrocities. At the same time, though, he sheds light

on a neglected chapter of history, and effectively debunks popular but inaccurate perceptions. Summing up his thesis, he writes (p. xiii):

The traditional view of why America entered World War II is a myth. Neither isolationist nor truly neutral, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration forced Germany and Japan to go to war with us. Why Roosevelt did so is another — and an enthralling — question. The answer to this question goes back at least to the start of the twentieth century.

Chinese Weakness

Often overlooked in the emphasis on the Pacific War of 1941-1945 is Japan's drawn out military involvement in China, 1931-1945. As Thompson shows here, the Sino-Japanese war foreshadowed the Japanese-American clash, not least because it was a laboratory for Rooseveltian lawbreaking and duplicity. Furthermore, he shows that the military conflict between Japan and the United States had its origins in earlier rivalry and competition in east Asia between the two countries.

Already in the 19th century, European powers and the United States were prying open commercial markets in China, which was ruled by the weak and hopelessly ineffectual Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. Particularly in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Western powers reduced China to a playground for European and American business interests, missionary societies, and private adventurers. A string of humiliating losses of territory and sovereignty to alien foreigners eroded the authority of China's Manchu regime, which "lost face" with its people. The collapse of the dynasty in 1911 brought further disorder and chaos. Secret societies proliferated, bandits roamed the countryside, gangsters terrorized the cities, and warlords seized control of large territories.

European powers, and, increasingly, the United States, also moved to fill the power vacuum. To enforce its hegemony, Westerners established "international settlements" in China's larger cities and their gunboats patrolled her rivers and sea lanes.

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Shanghai, China's major port city, was occupied by the Japanese in November 1937. Here Japanese infantrymen celebrate after storming the city's North railway station.

Japanese Ambitions in China

The proclamation earlier of an "Open Door" policy in China reflected America's new-found power and influence on the world stage, and further underscored China's semi-colonial status. Weaker but friendly European powers such as Britain, Netherlands and France had to rely ever more on the United States for help in maintaining their positions in China. In spite of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, which guaranteed the integrity of China and its "Open Door" (and of which Japan was a signatory), the "door" was more open to some than to others.

Meanwhile, Japan's rapidly expanding industrial economy required vast imports of raw materials as well as large markets for its finished export goods. The most obvious source of imports and outlet for exports was neighboring China, the world's most populous country. But in the scramble for markets and power in Asia, Japan was disfavored and humiliated. The Western powers, and increasingly, the United States, thwarted her ambitions. As Thompson explains (p. 16), the US wielded ever greater power in Asia to its own advantage and to Japan's detriment:

America had persuaded Britain to renounce its own 1901 treaty with Japan. America had

required Japan to evacuate the Shantung Peninsula, occupied during World War I, and to return customs control and sovereignty to China. America had demanded, and gotten, cable rights on Yap [Island] in the Pacific. America had forced Japan to leave Siberia, which the Japanese had invaded in 1919, and to give the Soviets the northern half of Sakhalin Island.

Not surprisingly, Thompson notes (p. 98), Japan viewed all this as an intolerable state of affairs:

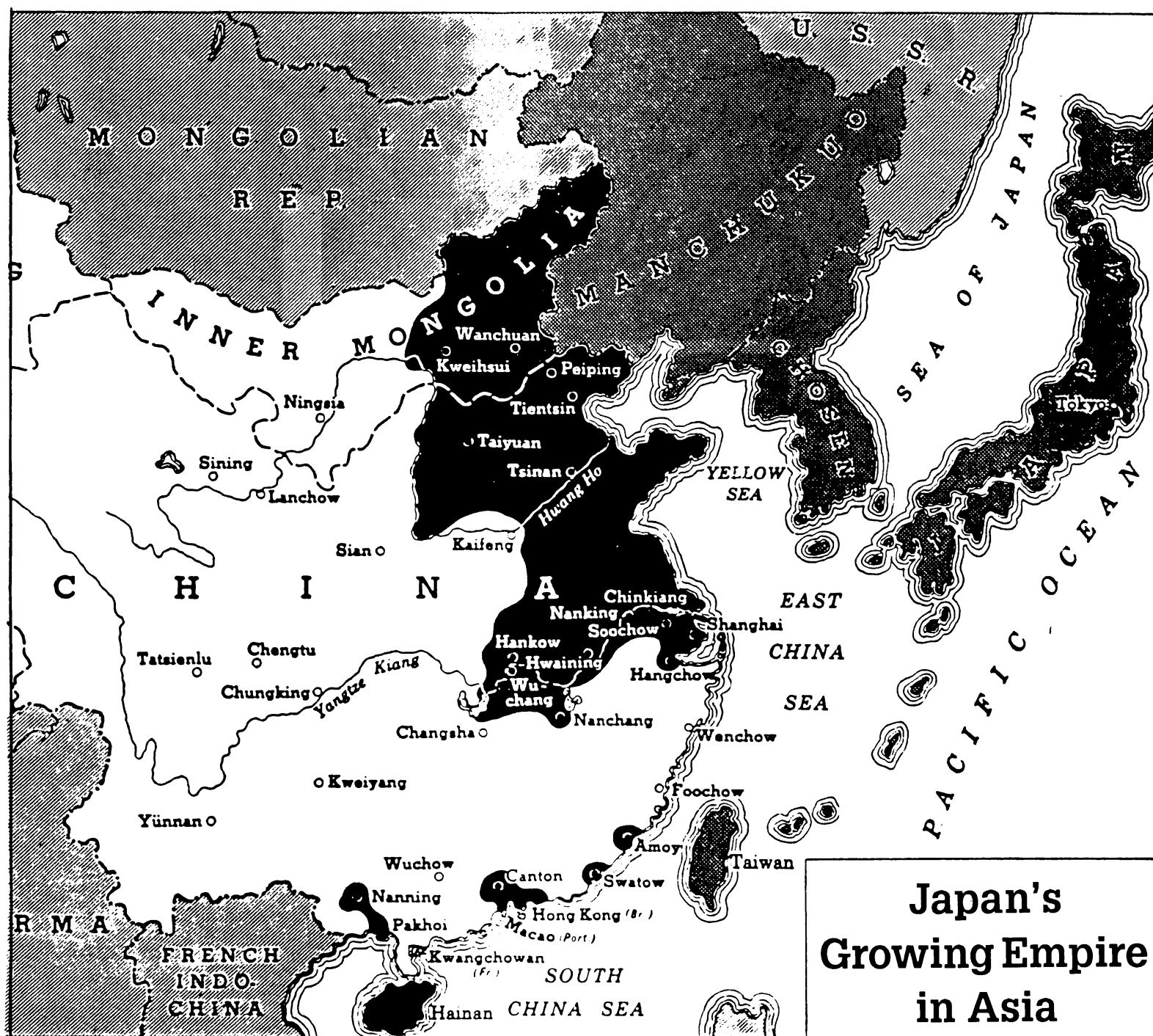
For close to a century, Western commercial interests in China had centered their activities on the treaty ports... [In] each of these cities, which China had signed away in part or altogether to foreigners (usually to the British)...Westerners controlled the currencies, the exchange rates, the tariffs and quotas, the regulations over shipping and navigation, the rates and symbols of the power of the West. And the Japanese were determined to end all that.

One-Sided Neutrality

During the early 1930s Japan took military control of much of northern China. In Manchuria (northeast China) it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japan's full-scale war in China traditionally dates from the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident in 1937. While the origins of this "incident" remain unclear to this day, Chinese Communist involvement is a possibility. Indeed, an ominous and complicating factor throughout East Asia was the rise of Communism. Proxies of Soviet Russia did their best to foment unrest and conflict amongst the Asian peoples, and Japan's responsive efforts to combat Communist "bandits" in China merged with its general war of conquest there.

Naturally, the Westerners who had been holding sway in China resented Japan's sudden military intrusion and new power in the vast land. Between 1931 and 1941, hostile incidents in China between American citizens and Japanese troops, the luridly Japanophobic portrayal of the Sino-Japanese conflict in American newspapers, periodicals and newsreels, and official US condemnations of Japanese actions in China all helped psychologically to prepare the American public for an "inevitable" showdown with Japan.

Contributing to this was the work of Henry Luce, the avidly pro-Chinese publisher of *Time* and *Life* magazines. (Luce was the son of American missionaries in China.) In his influential weeklies, he bashed Japan and boosted Chinese *Generalissimo* Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and his anti-Japanese government as the authentic representative of the Chinese people. In reality, Chiang Kai-shek presided over a corrupt and dictatorial regime, which



Japan had already acquired Taiwan in 1895, and in 1910 it annexed Korea (Chosen). In 1932, it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in northeast China. By December 1939, Japan seized control of the vast areas of China shown here in black.

was largely controlled by the fabulously wealthy and corrupt Soong clan. (Mei-ling Soong was Chiang Kai-shek's wife, and T.V. Soong, at one time the wealthiest man in the world, was his Prime Minister.)

During 1937-1941, all these factors contributed to the erosion of the remnants of United States neutrality. Writes Thompson (p. 39):

In the mid-1930s, Congress had passed a series of neutrality acts, requiring belligerent countries to pay cash for whatever they bought in the States and to ship such goods in their own vessels (the cash-and-carry principle) — and requiring the president, when two foreign coun-

tries were in a state of war, to declare an arms embargo. Since Japan could produce its own weapons, however, and China could not, having to make purchases overseas, an embargo would hurt China more than it would hurt Japan. So Roosevelt made a move that was not a move. He decided that he would "find" no war. He would wink at the sale of arms to China.

Roosevelt's phony neutrality and his illicit aid to China against Japan foreshadowed his circumventions of the neutrality laws in aiding Britain against Germany. Indeed, the campaign to inflame emotions against Japan over the China war served as a general precursor to America's propaganda war against Germany.

As early as 1937, America's willful violations of neutrality extended to the financing of China's war against Japan, and the training and equipping of China's air force. (See also "Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan," Winter 1991-92 *Journal*.) As Thompson explains (p. 33):

Three events, each out of the spring of 1937, cast doubt on America's true neutrality. The Chinese government had begun to send presents to American officials, especially to President Roosevelt. The US Treasury had begun to buy Chinese silver, granting China a kind of foreign aid. And the Chinese government had begun to pay money to an American pilot, Claire Chennault. His job was to reorganize the Chinese air force; and although he was retired from the US Army Air Corps, he had plenty of contacts in Washington. In time, he would make full use of those contacts.

Much of China's ability militarily to resist the Japanese depended upon the outside sources of material aid coming through the Yangtze River, which also served as the main artery of trade for American and other western companies. Japan severed the conduit to their enemies by announcing in 1937 their seizure of the Shanghai customs service. This was accompanied by further international incidents, including a brief Japanese invasion of the Shanghai international settlement, and aerial strafings of western ships plying the river lines, including the sinking of the US gunboat "Panay" in December 1937. Other sources of western aid to China came through Haiphong in French Indochina and via Britain's Hong Kong colony. Japanese pressures applied to these routes further inflamed tensions.

Another route used by the western powers to supply Japan's enemies in China was an overland road from Rangoon in Burma. The tremendous cost of maintaining this supply line were secured at a meeting between US Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Chinese finance minister H.H. Kung. They agreed that the United States would purchase Chinese silver and allow for a series of foreign exchange loans to China, which would maintain the flow of military supplies to China. Initial objections to this violation of American neutrality by the US State Department were overridden by President Roosevelt.

Numerous other Americans, serving as unofficial agents of China, encouraged further US aid and stridently opposed Japanese interests. Among them, Thompson points out (p. 93), was none other than John Foster Dulles, who would later serve as President Eisenhower's ardently anti-Communist Secretary of State:

Upon his return to New York [from China], late in April 1938, Dulles spoke to the Lunch Club. Standing on the dais, he praised the Chinese Communists — this was Dulles! — as the "most effective fighting portion and the most patriotic" of the Chinese troops; and he expressed his conviction that the Japanese would never topple Chiang Kai-shek. Henry L. Stimson [later US Secretary of War] was in the audience. Dulles' words impressed him: Perhaps, Stimson concluded, Japan could be beaten after all.

In effect, some US officials already considered themselves at war with Japan. Continued American aid to Japan's enemies, and the hostile anti-Japanese rhetoric in the US media fueled Japanese anger and precipitated still more incidents.

In August 1938, for example, a commercial DC-2 aircraft of the American-run "China National Aviation Corporation," piloted by American Captain Hugh Woods, was shot down en route to Chungking (capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government), and most of the western civilian passengers who survived the water landing were killed by Japanese strafings. Few of the millions of Americans who were outraged by this incident knew the full story. As Thompson notes (p. 107): "Was CNAC nonbelligerent? Captain Woods' DC-2 was unarmed. But other CNAC planes, DC-2s, had been flying into Chungking with tanks of fuel for military use."

This was not the only source of American ill will toward Japan. As Japan tightened its control of China's coastal cities, it imposed its own political and economic hegemony, now at the expense of the Westerners who just a short time earlier had been calling the shots. Americans were not pleased, as Thompson explains (p. 108):

Voters were angry — and so were investors. The Japanese had lowered booms across the waters at Shanghai, refusing to raise them for American vessels; the Japanese had seized, without payment, such goods as the tobacco stock of the Carolina Leaf and Tobacco Company and a lighter [small freighter] belonging to the US-owned Shanghai Lumber and Coal Company; the Japanese had prevented salesmen from the Singer Sewing Machine Company from docking at Shanghai; the Japanese had shut off two American oil companies from their long-standing markets in China; the Japanese had severed American exporters, based in China, from their sources of fur and wool.

America's ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph C. Grew, was a decent man, respected by the Japanese, who struggled to avert war. But as Thompson writes (pp. 110-111), his task was daunting:

Grew had worked day and night to keep mutual

relations peaceful — but the task was becoming impossible. To the Japanese he had to keep explaining away the bombast [of Japanophobes in America]; to the Americans he had over and over to present the Japanese view; namely, that Americans in China were acting in ways that were anything but neutral. Here is a sample of Japanese accusations that Grew forwarded to Washington: In Hopeh Province, American Presbyterian missionaries had allowed Chinese troops to use their church as a sanctuary; in Shansi Province, Chinese troops had used an American-owned church as a fortress. Near Hsuchow, American missionaries had let Chinese soldiers use their establishment as a communications center. At Tsingtao, Sen Chihti, head of a Chinese secret police unit, had taken sanctuary in a middle school run by the American Presbyterian church.

Thompson not only affirms that such incidents did occur, he cites additional hostile American actions, including support by American missionaries for Chinese Communists. (For example, American Methodist Bishop Roots worked with Chou En-lai to explore ways to embroil the US in the China war against Japan.)

Ambassador Grew conveyed to Washington Japan's protests about such incidents, but to no avail. His superiors, including President Roosevelt, did not share his concerns or goals. As war loomed ever larger in the ironically-named Pacific region, Grew and others who worked for peace could only look on helplessly.

Economic Warfare Against Japan

During this period, Japan was economically very vulnerable. More than any other industrial power, it was unusually dependent on imports of oil and other essential raw materials, as well as on foreign markets for export. In the circumstances of the time, it was economically beholden to the United States. It was thus a jolt when, in 1939, the United States cancelled its 1911 trade agreement with Japan. Much more serious were the trade embargoes imposed in 1940, when the US halted exports to Japan of petroleum, petroleum products (including gasoline and lubricants) and all grades of iron



Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek and his wife meet with US air force commander Claire Chennault in Chungking, the wartime capital of Chiang's government.

and steel scrap.

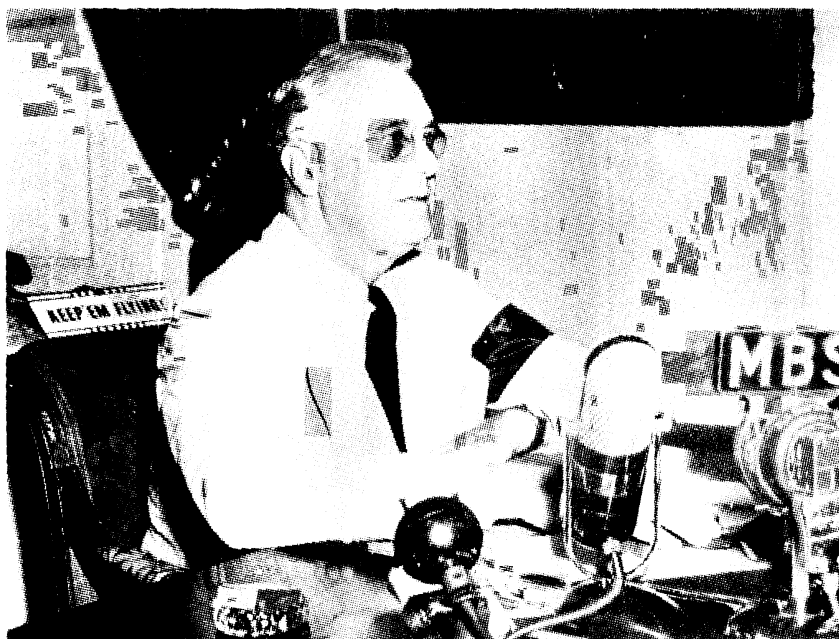
America's economic warfare against Japan came to climax on July 26, 1941, when President Roosevelt ordered the freezing of all Japanese assets and credits in the United States. This ended all trade between the two countries. (In coordination with this, Britain and the Netherlands followed quickly with similar measures of their own.) Because Japan was largely dependent on the US for petroleum and petroleum products, Roosevelt's order threatened her survival as an industrial nation. As British historian J.F.C. Fuller pointed out (in *The Second World War*, p. 128), "this was a declaration of economic war, and, in consequence, it was the actual opening of the struggle."

Commenting on Roosevelt's policy of "detering" Japan through economic pressure, Thompson writes (p. 401):

Here was no mere deterrence; here was deterrence that amounted to provocation. Was the provocation deliberate? Three times, twice to Lord Halifax and once to British premier Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt intimated that he was trying to force "an incident" that would bring America more deeply into the fray. He may have hated war, but he presided over policies that came to be indistinguishable from incitements to war.

Ruin or War

In this desperate situation, Japan faced inevitable economic ruin as a developed country. It decided, therefore, to act boldly to seize by sudden military action the resources and markets that the United



President Franklin Roosevelt speaks to the nation in a radio address, September 11, 1941.

States, Britain and France denied to it through embargo and the colonial system. In the words of J.F.C. Fuller, Japan's "choice was between two evils — both gigantic. She decided to follow the one she considered the lesser — war rather than economic ruin."

When Japan did strike in December 1941, the Commanders-in-Chief of her Army and Navy issued a joint Order of the Day, which declared:

They [America and Britain] have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally have resorted to the direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of our Empire.

This trend of world affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify our Empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of eastern Asia, but also endanger the very existence of our nation. The situation being such as it is, our Empire for its existence and self-defense has no other recourse but to appeal to arms ...

At his trial after the war, Japan's wartime prime minister, Hideki Tojo, stated: "To adopt a policy of patience and perseverance under such impediment [the American pressure] was tantamount to self-annihilation of our nation. Rather than await extinction, it was better to face death by breaking through the encircling ring and find a way for existence."

Roosevelt's Motives

This book raises pertinent historical questions: Could the war in China have ended peacefully, or earlier, if the United States had not intervened to

provide extensive aid to the Chinese combatants? Would Japan have acted more responsibly in Asia if America had behaved as a sincere neutral? If America had impartially tried to end the war in China, rather than intensify it, could the later and more generalized war with Japan have been avoided?

Finally, Thompson attempts to explain the motives behind Franklin Roosevelt's policies. In his path to war, Thompson believes, the President was driven not by a wish to safeguard America from supposed threat by the "bandit nations" of Germany, Japan and Italy, nor was he motivated by a desire to save China, Britain or even "democracy."

Instead, Thompson argues, Roosevelt sought to reestablish the stability of an earlier age by imposing his personal "vision" of a peaceful international order. He portrays FDR as a hopeless romantic harking after a lost "golden age" (p. 405):

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and those around him had the same vision in the months and years before Pearl Harbor. The Roosevelt administration, you sense, wanted to return to the *status quo ante*, to the world before the Great Depression, before the Great War, before the Russian Revolution, above all, to the world as it existed before the rise of Germany and Japan. Only with Germany and Japan removed from international affairs — indeed, only with America in Britain's place — would the golden age return.

While Thompson never makes clear whether he admires or deplors Roosevelt's policies, he does clearly establish that in the years before the Pearl Harbor attack, the President acted deceitfully and even unlawfully in furthering American economic and political interests in East Asia. Along with other works of revisionist scholarship, Thompson's valuable study points up the wide gap between popular perception and historical reality.

Shifting Law

"Abstract justice is, of course, impossible. Law is merely the expression of the will of the strongest for the time being, and therefore laws have not fixity, but shift from generation to generation."

— Brooks Adams,
The Law of Civilization and Decay

Goldhagen's 'Evil' Indictment of Germans

Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust, by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. New York: Knopf, 1996. x+622 pages. \$30.00.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

This is an evil book, as evil as the well-known incitement to hatred against Germans by Elie Wiesel, who praises this thick volume as "a tremendous contribution to the understanding and teaching of the Holocaust."

Author Goldhagen's basic thesis is that a harsh "eliminationist" hostility toward Jews was so deeply ingrained in Germany that "ordinary Germans" were "willing executioners" of the Third Reich's murderous Holocaust of European Jewry. Even Germany's clergy comes under vehement attack in the chapter "Eliminationist Antisemitism as a Genocidal Motivation" (especially pp. 432-438; see also pp. 107-114). Goldhagen asserts (p. 437):

In sum, in the face of the persecution and annihilation of the Jews, the churches, Protestant and Catholic, as corporate bodies exhibited an apparent, striking impassiveness. Moreover, in the ranks of the clergy at all levels, numerous voices could be heard vilifying the Jews in Nazi-like terms, hurling imprecations at them, and acclaiming their persecution at the hands of their country's government.

Not even the members of the conspiracy who plotted to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944 are spared by Goldhagen (pp. 115-116).

In the opening pages of his book, in which he gives a sort of preliminary summary of its contents, Goldhagen writes (p. 4) of "the tens of thousands of ordinary Germans who... became genocidal killers." Even if we were to assume, quite hypothetically,

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that 70,000 Germans could fall into such a category, that would still be only one in a thousand Germans — hardly the basis for a sweeping moral condemnation of a whole nation.

I can hardly imagine that Goldhagen has experienced military life himself or that he even has a good secondhand grasp of what it is like. In any military organization, a few members are prone to become sadists, especially after bloody engagements with enemy forces, and infused with the skillful psychological indoctrination that is a routine part of modern warfare. I recall, a few months after the end of the war in Europe, a fellow soldier boasting to me about how many Germans he had killed with the trucks he had driven. Were members of the American air force who delighted in reducing hundreds of thousands of women and children to cinders morally superior to members of the special German Einsatzkommando police units, to which Goldhagen devotes so much space? Most members of both groups no doubt thought they were performing acts that were a patriotic military necessity.

Right at the outset, Goldhagen demonstrates to the discerning reader just how unreliable his book is. On page 4 (and later on p. 162) he insists that German anti-Jewish measures killed six million Jews. Because German authorities never had more than about 3.8 million Jews under their control, as can be confirmed by checking easily accessible statistics on

Jewish prewar and postwar populations, the familiar Six Million figure is absurd. (See, for example, Walter Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, published by the IHR.)

Goldhagen calls the Holocaust "the most shocking event of the twentieth century, and the most difficult to understand in all of German history" (p. 4) — an arrogant, ethnocentric comment suggesting that Jewish suffering has special significance. The number of Ukrainians who died from starvation in Stalin's imposed mass famine of 1932-33 is, alone, perhaps ten times the number of Jews who perished in Europe under German and Axis rule, 1942-45.

Documents and Photographs

As evidence of a German extermination policy, Goldhagen cites (p. 322) the purported protocol of a conference of German government and military officials held at Wannsee (near Berlin) on January 20, 1942. As anyone who has carefully read the text



Charles Weber

knows, this 15-page document contains no mention of any policy or program to exterminate the Jews, let alone anything about gas chambers or the like. Remarkably, this document envisages a restructured Jewish makeup for those who survive forced employment, upon their future release (*"bei Freilassung"*). (Actually, there is some evidence that this document, which contains no signature, date, and so forth, may be a forgery of some sort. For the complete text and detailed discussion of the Wannsee conference protocol, see *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, by Wilhelm Stäglich, pp. 31-41, 283-291, published by the IHR.)

Similarly, at least some of the grim photographs in Goldhagen's book appear to be of dubious authenticity. Some such "Holocaust industry" photos were produced by montage techniques, while in other instances unaltered photographs were used with false captions. (On this topic, see Udo Walendy's article the Spring 1980 *Journal*.)

As is now well known, torture was used to obtain many of the "confessions" upon which much of the Holocaust story is based. (See, for example, Robert Faurisson's article, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," in Winter 1986-87 *Journal*.) Holocaust "eyewitness" testimony, often quoted here by Goldhagen, are also frequently unreliable, as pointed out by the Jewish historian Arno Mayer in his 1988 book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History* (p. 362).

Much of Goldhagen's book is devoted to the thesis that Wehrmacht troops were generally so hostile to Jews that many took a personal delight in tormenting them. Wise military commanders prohibit such evil, not only for the sake of the morale and psychological well-being of their men, but also to prevent encouragement of a more determined resistance on the part of their enemies. And German soldiers were exceptionally well disciplined and officered, as any number of non-German military historians have acknowledged. As Jewish author John Sack points out in his book *An Eye for an Eye* (pp. 87, 105), SS guards at Auschwitz could be (and in some instances were) punished severely by the German authorities for mistreating inmates, especially for emotional satisfaction.

Heinrich Himmler recognized the value of Jewish inmates in German concentration and labor camps as a source of labor for the war effort. In an order dated December 28, 1942, to the administrators of these camps the SS *Reichsführer* insisted that deaths of inmates (as a consequence of disease) were to be reduced "at all costs."

Historical Context

It is important to realize that the grim subject of this book is only understandable within the context

of the time. For example, Goldhagen makes an astonishingly naive or disingenuous statement (p. 409) to the effect that the behavior of Ukrainians, Latvians and Lithuanians in collaborating with the German occupation forces was difficult to understand. For anyone familiar with the historical circumstances, though, this collaboration is not at all surprising.

It is well established that Jews played a decisive and probably dominant role not only in the early Soviet Russian regime, but also in the genocidal Soviet administrations imposed in the Baltic nations in 1940-1941. [See "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan-Feb. 1994 *Journal*.] When German forces occupied the Baltic countries in the summer of 1941, people there took bloody vengeance on their tormentors (p. 151).

Goldhagen devotes considerable attention to the grim work of the *Einsatzkommandos*, special German security police detachments that operated behind the front lines in the occupied Soviet Union.

In these vast territories, large numbers of Jews came under German occupation in 1941. As a group, the Jews there were ardently hostile to German rule and posed a threat to security. Many joined the irregular (partisan) forces, which became a severe menace to thinly spread German military personnel. (Jews today point to this chapter of history with considerable pride, as shown, for example, in the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC.)

This reality, and the special character of the pitiless conflict between Germany and Soviet Russia, necessitated the very harsh security measures behind the front lines that resulted in many Jewish deaths. These victims, which included many innocent people, accounted for a large portion of all Jewish wartime deaths, a fact that Goldhagen acknowledges (p. 523, n. 4).

Ignored Evidence and a Shift in Emphasis

The grave distortions and lack of balance of this book are perhaps due less to what Goldhagen writes than to what he does not include. He ignores the abundant evidence brought out in recent decades — such as the *Leuchter Report* and the aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz in 1944 — that discredits the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story.

While a look at his bibliography suggests that he is not aware of this research, he seems to know of evidence that discredits the familiar claims of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, and to believe that the Holocaust story needs at least some revision. "The imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected," he writes (p. 523, n. 4).

Goldhagen also devotes a great deal of attention to the evacuations of inmates from German concentration camps during the final months of the war, in the face of the approaching Soviet forces. Many thousands of Jewish prisoners were evacuated from Auschwitz, for example, in the weeks before its capture by Soviet forces on January 27, 1945. It seems not to have occurred to Goldhagen that if there had been anything like a policy to kill all Jews, the German authorities would not have diverted desperately needed guard personnel and overtaxed transportation facilities to such cumbersome evacuations, which Goldhagen refers to as "death marches."

Threats of Genocide

Germany's harsh anti-Jewish measures were carried out during a war in which the German people were themselves threatened with genocide — an aspect of the subject that Goldhagen, like most Holocaust historians, essentially ignores.

Even at the outset of the conflict there were mass killings of thousands of civilian ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) by both civilian and military Poles, who were confident that Poland would quickly defeat Germany. Many apparently expected to take possession of German farms and businesses. An estimated 58,000 German civilians lost their lives in the massacres carried out in September 1939, of which the "Bromberg Bloody Sunday" is perhaps best known. (These atrocities are documented in gruesome detail in a book issued by the German Foreign Office. The American edition, *Polish Acts of Atrocities Against the German Minority in Poland*, was published in New York in 1940.)

Then came the book by American Jewish writer Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*, which called for the sterilization of all Germans and the parceling out of Germany to neighboring states. First published in 1941, translations of this shocking work were widely distributed by Goebbels' agencies as a grim admonishment to the German people. Of course, one looks in vain for any mention by Goldhagen of this Jewish call to genocide.

So eager were Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill to ruthlessly crush Germany that in January 1943 they issued their demand for "unconditional surrender" — a savage directive that unquestionably cost the lives of huge numbers of soldiers on both sides. In September 1944 came the notorious Morgenthau Plan, an occupation program endorsed by Roosevelt and formulated by his Treasury Secretary that would have had a genocidal impact on the German people by depriving the nation of its heavy industry and thus the possibility of obtaining the imports necessary for its very survival. (Since about 1870 the German population had

grown beyond the capacity of its arable land to feed itself. During 1945-1948 I myself witnessed the starvation and economic paralysis that was imposed on the vanquished Germans.) Then in October 1944 came the discovery of the Soviet massacre of German civilians in Nemmersdorf, a vil-

lage in East Prussia that was briefly recaptured by German forces. In February 1945 Allied air forces carried out the genocidal bombing of Dresden.

Under these circumstances, which receive little or no mention from Goldhagen, it is naive to expect that the Germans would have maintained a sympathetic, benevolent attitude toward the Jews.

Germany's wartime internment of Jews has certain parallels with America's wartime internment of its citizens of Japanese descent. In each case, racial-ethnic distrust and concerns for security were significant factors. But there were also some important differences. Whereas the US government acted swiftly in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to round up its citizens of Japanese ancestry, the German authorities moved rather slowly and hesitantly against the Jews, until the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict.

If the German authorities intended to consign all Jews to death, as Goldhagen claims (p. 173), they moved with a remarkable lack of urgency. The Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in the spring of 1943, for example, came some three and a half years after the outbreak of the war.

The appalling conditions in the German concentration camps during the war's final, chaotic months are reminiscent of the dreadful conditions in the prisoner of war camps of the starving and beleaguered Confederacy during the Civil War. In the case of Germany, however, Allied bombing had shattered the country's transportation network and supply system in the final months.

German Tolerance

Contrary to Goldhagen's thesis, hostility toward Jews was by no means more widespread or deep-rooted in Germany than in, say, France or even the United States. In modern times Jews have rightly regarded Germany as a haven of relative tolerance, virtually a "promised land." One of the most influential literary pleas for tolerance of Jews was the



Daniel Jonah Goldhagen

famous 18th-century German play, *Nathan der Weise* ("Nathan the Wise"). The dramatist and critic G. E. Lessing (1729-1781) presents the play's central figure, a Jew, in a highly sympathetic light, in contrast to the Christian figures in the drama.

During the 19th and 20th centuries Jews thrived in Germany, which afforded them great opportunities to distinguish themselves in arts, letters, sciences and commerce. One need only recall such outstanding German-Jewish figures as the poet Heinrich Heine, the composer Felix Mendelssohn, shipping magnate Albert Ballin, the banking families of Rothschild and Warburg, political leaders Ferdinand Lassalle Walther Rathenau and Hugo Preuss, theater director Max Reinhardt, and physicist Albert Einstein. By the time of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) German Jews were very disproportionately represented in commerce, banking and the legal profession.

On the other hand, the predominant Jewish role in the incredibly cruel Marxist regimes established in Russia, Hungary and elsewhere in the 1917-1919 period generated tremendous anti-Jewish feeling, not only in Germany but across Europe. In the United States automobile manufacturer Henry Ford, who had idealistically tried to reconcile the warring powers during the First World War, subsidized critical studies on the "Jewish question." These were published 1920-1922 and later republished in four volumes under the title *The International Jew*. Quickly translated into German, these volumes constituted a significant (but hardly the only) American influence on public opinion in Germany.

Third Reich Measures

Contrary to the impression given by Goldhagen, Third Reich measures against Jews were remarkably mild during the first few years after Hitler came to power in January 1933. The well-known boycott of Jewish businesses, April 1, 1933, was a token one-day response to the already established and on-going international Jewish boycott of German exports. It was not until the promulgation in September 1935 of the "Nuremberg Laws" that marriage between Jews and non-Jews was banned, a prohibition that, incidentally, paralleled the long-standing laws in numerous American states against marriages between Caucasians and Negroes.

Even as late as November 1938, at the time of the anti-Jewish "Crystal Night" riots (provoked by the Jewish murder of a German diplomat in Paris), much of Germany's retail trade was still in Jewish hands. As even Goldhagen concedes (p. 100) Jews still owned some 7,500 stores and business in Germany at that time. (On the origin and nature of "Crystal Night," see Ingrid Weckert's study, *Flash-*

point, published by the IHR.) As late as 1941, more than a hundred Jewish institutions, agencies and organizations were listed in that year's edition of the Berlin telephone directory. Of the nearly 1400 feature films produced during the Third Reich era, no more than four or five were anti-Jewish.

All this would hardly have been possible if hostility toward Jews in Third Reich Germany had been as deeply entrenched, as widespread or as intense as Goldhagen contends.

Goldhagen mentions (p. 142) Hitler's often-cited words from his January 30, 1939, Reichstag address, in which he predicted that if international finance Jewry succeeded once again in plunging Europe into world war, the result be the destruction of the Jews in Europe — although without specifying how or by whom. The German leader certainly wanted no European-wide conflict, or even war with Britain, but his awareness of the vehement international Jewish effort to incite war against Germany may perhaps explain his 1939 Reichstag prediction. (See "President Roosevelt's Secret Campaign to Incite War in Europe," Summer 1983 *Journal*.)

Conclusion

Anyone who seeks a balanced treatment of an emotion-laden chapter of modern history had better look elsewhere. But a lack of balance is hardly the greatest defect of this work. Probably its most pernicious feature is that it helps to destroy any prospect of good relations between Jews and Germans. Some Jewish leaders, fearing the destruction of their people through assimilation, may consciously wish to demolish tolerable relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Is this perhaps one of the author's motives in writing this book? If so, his book is another manifestation of an ancient Hebraic tradition, expressed in Jewish religious writings, of sowing discord amongst host populations. (See, for example, Isaiah 19:2-3: "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother ... And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof ...")

Just as Jewish musicians who reject the music of Richard Wagner because he was anti-Jewish only cheat themselves, so also do Jews like Goldhagen who poison opportunities for good relations with Germans actually harm the interests of their own people.

As already mentioned, Jews have enjoyed advantageous relations with Germans in the past and may do so again in the future. Because this book's long-range impact is likely to be more harmful to Jews than to Germans, it should be challenged not only by non-Jews but by enlightened Jews as well.

French Study of Israel's 'Founding Myths' Provokes Furious Attack

Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics"), by Roger Garaudy. Paris: La Vieille taupe (B.P. 98, 75224 Paris-Cedex 05, France), 1995. 277 pages. Softcover. [Available from La Librairie du Savoir, 5, rue Malebranche, 75005 Paris, France.]

Reviewed by Robert Martello

Even as independent thinking is being suppressed in "politically correct" America, and erased in today's national-masochist Germany, happily some remnants of traditional Gallic nonconformism are still alive in France. If a Frenchman asks you the rhetorical question "Do you think I am a fool?," it means he is irritated by your naive assumption that he may be naive.

Roger Garaudy obviously does not want to be taken for a fool. In admirably scholarly fashion, fortified with an impressive bibliography and endless source citations, he (possibly with help from anonymous assistants) has delivered a powerful blow to the greatest historical-political myth of our time: the transcendent victimology of Jews for the benefit of Israel. For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what Garaudy calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." He is right on target, although readers familiar with the work of other revisionist scholars will recognize many of the arguments presented in this well researched and very readable work.

Referring to the myth of "antifascist Zionism," Garaudy for example cites the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including Israel's future prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, to join with Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. [See: M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," July-August 1993 *Journal*.] The farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial is also well documented by Garaudy, who cites German, Israeli, Soviet and American sources, including the memoir of chief US prosecutor Robert Jackson.

Garaudy examines the deceitful *ex nihilo* establishment of the Jewish state through the dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, and debunks the legend of the "Israeli miracle." He

writes frankly of the powerful Zionist lobby in North America, which effectively controls US policy regarding Israel and plays a critical role in shaping public opinion.

"Founding Myths" offers hundreds of interesting quotations, often by prominent Jewish scholars. For example, it quotes Jewish scholar Michael Bar-Zohar, who points out that during the Second World War "the rescuing of European Jewry was not first on the list of priorities of the ruling class. The foundation of the [Jewish] state was primary ..."

Holocaust Sacred Cows

Taking on that most sacred of sacred cows, Garaudy writes that the Holocaust story, as a whole, is a "myth." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

Tracing the origin of the notorious term "final solution" ("*Endlösung*"), Garaudy shows the circumstances in which the German leaders employed it. The phrase first appeared in a letter by Heydrich of June 24, 1940 (after the German victory over France). He wrote of "a territorial final solution" ("*eine territoriale Endlösung*"), referring to a proposal to deport Europe's Jews to Madagascar that was widely and seriously discussed at the time in German circles.

"There is no document signed by Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich speaking about the extermination of Jews," Garaudy points out. He also deftly tears down mythical exterminationist mathematics (such as the exaggerated Auschwitz body count), and debunks stories of gassing of Jews. Claude Lanzmann's much-praised "Shoah" film he dismisses as "an endless turkey," and refers to Anne Frank's diary as part of the "Shoah business."

Furious Attacks

If one accepts the old saying that everyone scratches himself where it itches most, then the furious attacks against this book and its author show that many in France are itching badly.

The country's supposedly independent press, from *Le Figaro* to *Le Monde* to *Libération*, along with the main television channels, immediately went after Garaudy in an intense smear campaign. Although France's media traditionally prides itself on its independent, freewheeling spirit, it has displayed a patent bias in heaping scorn on Garaudy and his most prominent public supporter, Abbé Pierre. Each is loudly accused of the worst of all possible sins in today's France: "inveterate anti-Semitism," "denial," and "revisionism."

Along with the media smears, lawsuits have been brought against Garaudy and his publisher.

Robert Martello is the pen name of an American scholar who lives in France.



Roger Garaudy (left) with Abbé Pierre

Each may also be subject to heavy fines or even imprisonment for violating France's 1990 Fabius-Gayssot anti-revisionist law. One cannot rule out that the octogenarian Garaudy will end his days in jail as a notorious thought criminal.

The entire Garaudy affair has received enormous attention in French academic, journalistic and public life, and shows no signs of dying. But in spite of all the media howling, "Founding Myths" is selling well.

'Red-Brown' Alliance?

If Garaudy were a right-winger or a neo-Nazi, he would have been dismissed long ago as lacking any intellectual credibility. But his establishment credentials are impeccable. During the war, he was one of the first to join the French anti-fascist *Résistance*, and he later played a prominent role in the French Communist Party. Later, after breaking with the Party, he converted to Islam. Garaudy's most prominent supporter and friend of many years, Abbé Pierre, is a world-renowned Catholic priest who likewise worked in the anti-German *Résistance*. Since the war he has devoted himself to helping the poor. Moreover, "Founding Myths" was published by the leftist writer Pierre Guillaume under the imprint of his "Old Mole" firm, a small and relatively unknown publisher that has brought out works of Holocaust revisionism, including some by Robert Faurisson.

Citing the leftist credentials of this book's author and publisher, many French opinion makers have been railing about the looming danger of a "red-brown" (Communist-Nazi) alliance. As silly as it is, such talk points up the complete bankruptcy of the traditional "left-right" categories of intellectual and political life. The Garaudy affair shows that the significant contending political and intellectual groupings today (and not just in France) are not "leftists" and "rightists," but rather the "politically correct" or "taboo-affirming," and the "politically incorrect" or

"taboo-defying."

"The most effective indictment against Hitlerism," Garaudy writes in the final words of his book, "is the establishment of historical truth. It is for this purpose that we have wished to make our contribution with this dossier."

In France the century was ushered in with an intense public debate over a Jewish army officer who had been accused of selling military secrets to Germany. For a time the Dreyfus affair sharply divided French society into radically hostile intellectual and political camps, a split that portended the country's division during the Second World War. As we approach a new century, it cannot be ruled out that the Garaudy case and historical revisionism will similarly split French public life, but in an ultimately even more profound way.



"Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for a minimum donation of \$20.

This important supplement of the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, and more.

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Impressive Scholarship

Having just finished reading my first issue of the *Journal*, I want to tell you that I am very impressed. In its overall scholarship, it is the equal of any serious academic journal.

Both "R.P." and "M.B." make good points in their letters in the Jan.-Feb. *Journal*. Issues such as the threat to America's middle class, the perils of unrestricted immigration, the Jewish role in history, the seemingly endless demonization of Third Reich Germany, and how and why our government involves itself in one insane foreign war after another, all deserve thoughtful treatment in the *Journal's* pages.

Historical revisionism is a burgeoning movement, gathering momentum. Keep up the good work.

M.R.
San Francisco

Distracted Commemoration

I hope you all commemorated the Holocaust Days of Remembrance more leisurely than did our Israeli brethren, distracted repeatedly from their solemn contemplation of man's inhumanity to Jews by the need to strafe an ambulance and shell a refugee camp.

What's with these goyim, anyway?

J.T.
Passaic, New Jersey

Pieces of an Extraordinary Puzzle

I was greatly impressed by the article in the Jan.-Feb. issue about the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish question" in Spain. Brian Chalmers has clearly done a tremendous amount of research, and he supports his conclusions admirably. You are fortunate to have found an author who is so knowledgeable and also willing to draw unfashionable, "anti-Semit-

ism" conclusions.

I, for one, would be delighted to see more articles of this kind: carefully researched accounts of Jewish behavior and its influence on historical events. Important as it is to study the Holocaust, articles like Chalmers' are perhaps even more important because they give a historical foundation for understanding the behavior of Jews today. And is not the behavior of Jews today what gives historical revisionism more than merely academic significance?

Although a thorough account of what the Nazis did — and did not do — is an important element in understanding Jewish behavior, it is just part of the puzzle. Perhaps Chalmers' can be persuaded to give us a few more brilliantly-researched pieces of this extraordinary puzzle.

C.J.
New York City

Raging Battle

As you may know, the battle for historical truth is raging on what has been dubbed the "information superhighway." "Alt.revisionism" is the name of an Internet newsgroup in which both pro-revisionist and anti-revisionist viewpoints are posted daily. It has been estimated that as many as 25,000 people regularly read the posts in the newsgroup.

W.R.
[by Internet]
Oldbridge, N.J.

Biased History Teacher

Our history teacher recently passed out to our tenth grade class a paper attacking Holocaust deniers published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Until I read this, I hadn't known that anyone challenged the idea of the Holocaust. Now I have begun researching the revisionist view. Whether you are

right or not, you make a strong argument.

The teacher, who is Jewish, also called you jerks, liars and neo-Nazi activists who want to ruin the Jewish faith. Seriously. And I can get the entire class to confirm this. He also talked to us about abortion, telling us that he is pro choice. But he sure isn't when it comes to the Holocaust.

It was unfair of our teacher to pass out such a blatantly biased paper that outrightly bashes the IHR, and wrong to bombard us with his emotional personal feelings, insulting our ability to think for ourselves. Along with several colleagues, I am considering how we might file a class action lawsuit against this teacher for his violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. I would like to know what you think we should do.

B.E.
[by Internet]
Tampa, Fla.

A Young American in the Dachau Trials

Reading *Innocent at Dachau* took me back 50 years to my own days at Dachau. Actually, I've read and re-read Mr. Halow's book six times, and I enjoyed it even on the sixth reading.

My first Army assignment was to a War Crimes detachment at Ludwigsburg as a military court member [judge]. Among the cases we tried was the Borkum Island affair, which involved seven crew members of an American B-17 bomber who had been beaten and killed after their plane was shot down. After that we tried two or three minor cases, which took less than a week to complete. After about a month Ludwigsburg was shut down, and we were transferred to Dachau.

There were five US military courts in session there at the time,

including our own. I became disgruntled with the manner in which our court operated. For example, one fellow court member [judge], Lt. Col. Burchem, would write on a routing slip "Guilty. Hang the individual." Without question, his actions were unjust and extremely biased.

When I spoke with him about this, he replied that the investigators were very thorough, and would not have concluded that the defendants deserved to be hanged unless they were guilty. When I informed the president of the court about this, he seemed to dismiss the matter as a joke.

I then went to see the chief of administration of the War Crimes detachment at Dachau to get another duty assignment. He okayed my transfer to Headquarters Camp Dachau, where Col. Frances Fainter was in charge. My new duty was as Provost Marshal. As I recall, this was during the latter half of 1946. After my wife, our sixth-month-old daughter and my mother arrived, we were given quarters on the "SS Strasse."

Approximately 42,000 prisoners were being held in the Dachau camp, including about a hundred German generals and 3,000 alleged war criminals, including the notorious Ilse Koch. Most were German prisoners of war of various ranks who were to be "denazified" by the German authorities. I was positive that Ilse Koch, the "Bitch of Buchenwald," had become impregnated by a cook from compound 3. Our informants reported that he had gained access to the compound where she was being held by crawling through a heating tunnel.

It is very unfortunate that I've lost most of my papers from those days during my 33 years of military service, and owing in part to a tornado that vacuumed away many of my personal papers into "the blue."

*Clifford R. Merrill
Colonel, US Army (ret.)
Fort Collins, Col.*

Revisionist Scholarship Denied

The enemy simply refuses to grant the existence of such a thing as revisionist scholarship on the Holocaust issue. It is all dismissed as propaganda, or as part and parcel of some political agenda. This is repeated in every conceivable way, but it so flatly wrong that their hysteria is readily understandable.

*A.G.
Washington, DC*

Notable Exception

Vladimir Lenin, founder of Soviet Russia, died in 1924. In spite of the catastrophic failure of the Communist experiment, he is still honored with a great mausoleum in Moscow. Joseph Stalin, who killed vastly more people than Hitler, is remembered by many Russians as a great military leader and the builder of a powerful state. His grave in Moscow is decorated with flowers. Not long ago Georgia republic premier Eduard Sheverdnadze paid tribute to the wartime Soviet dictator, laying a wreath at his birthplace.

China's tyrannical Communist leader, Mao Zedong — whose victims outnumber even Stalin's — is honored with a magnificent mausoleum in Beijing. Grateful Spaniards gather annually at the imposing burial monument of *Caudillo* Francisco Franco at the "Valley of the Fallen." Every year many people come to view the magnificent grave of Napoleon in Paris. Mussolini's mortal remains are respectfully interned in a family crypt in Italy. In Romania people honor the memory of their nation's wartime leader, Marshal Ion Antonescu, with even the country's parliament paying tribute.

Japan's World War II emperor, Hirohito, who died in 1989, is remembered with honor. Even the nation's wartime political premier, Hideki Tojo — who was hanged in 1948 as a war criminal during the US occupation — is not dishonored. At the Yasukuni shrine, prominent Japanese political figures regularly pay homage

to the memory of their country's wartime dead, including Tojo.

A notable exception is Adolf Hitler. Endlessly vilified as a modern-day secular Satan and the personification of evil, there is no public monument anywhere to him or his memory. Why is Hitler unique? Is this special treatment due to the intense, seemingly endless hatred of his enemies, or is it an expression of the profound impact and durable fascination he still exerts on the world?

*P.M.
Spokane, Wash.*

Shermer's Flawed Comparison

During the Holocaust debate (reported in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 29), Dr. Michael Shermer equated Dr. Robert Faurisson's often-repeated demand for "just one proof" of a Nazi homicidal gas chamber with a Creationist demand for one fossil to prove evolution.

This flawed comparison shows a lack of clear thinking. Contrary to what Shermer implies, Faurisson does not say that the existence of a wartime Nazi gas chamber would prove the Holocaust. The comparable analogy would be a Creationist call for just one fossil to prove the existence of fossils. Even so, just as a single fossil does not prove evolution, neither would the existence of a Nazi homicidal gas chamber prove that there was a German wartime policy to exterminate Jews.

In fact, if the Germans had developed "gas chamber" technology for killing masses of people, the existence of millions of Jewish survivors at the end of the war would suggest that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews.

*Neil Martin
Los Angeles*

No Gas Chambers Found

From my point of view, Theodore O'Keefe's article in the July-August 1995 issue, "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts and Lies," is the most accurate I have

seen to date on this subject.

During the final months of the war, I was a squad leader with Company G, 121st Infantry, 8th Infantry Division, attached to the Ninth US Army. After the December 1944 "Battle of the Bulge," until the fighting ended on May 8, 1945, we pushed across northern Germany.

As we made our way from Aachen to Schwerin (some 35 miles beyond the Elbe river), we liberated concentration camps and prisons. However, we failed to uncover any gas chambers, although we were the first on the scene and tried, when we had the time, to look for them. We were indeed curious. What struck me as odd at the time was that not one camp prisoner could direct us to a gas chamber. We were shown decontamination rooms, but no affirmation that they had been used to gas people.

We also saw the results of aerial bombings, which were part of the Allied policy of total war. Just as appalling as the concentration camps were our grisly encounters with body parts of dead Germans, including children, that we sometimes found in rubble when we had to dig in a defensive position.

Richard Gagnon
Whitinsville, Mass.

Never Believed

I am a disabled veteran of World War II, and I never for one minute believed the Holocaust fraud. I went through Dachau, and I said then that it was fake. I met too many German soldiers and people to ever believe such an atrocious lie.

God bless you.

V.S.
Hillsboro, Mo.

Democracy Wanted

Here in Germany, and especially in Bavaria where I live, no one is ready publicly to discuss your arguments about the murder of the Jews. Here the so-called Holocaust lie is punished with imprisonment. Oh God, what I

would give to live in your country, where there is a democracy like we should have here in Germany.

God protect you and all your friends.

[by internet from Germany]

Gratitude

I have been following the IHR's progress for a couple of years now, and although I don't have anything to say that hasn't been said before, I would like to express my gratitude for the work you do. My generation, which lives under constant social pressure to accept falsehoods without question, will require only time to continue the work that you and your colleagues initiated.

J.K.R.

[by Internet from Washington state]

Stalin's Holocaust

When speaking about "the Holocaust," we should ask "which one?" Most people refer to "the Holocaust" as if the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews is unique in the history of man's inhumanity to man.

Actually, there were two great "Holocausts" in mid-20th-century Europe. The first of these — little known in America today — was the mass famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine imposed by Soviet dictator Stalin, in which some eight million people were methodically starved to death. In his carefully researched study, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), historian Robert Conquest estimates that about seven million perished in the Soviet "dekulakization" and forced collectivization campaign of 1929-1932. In addition, "about seven million plus" lost their lives in the imposed Ukraine famine of 1932-33, of whom about three million were children.

"The total peasant dead as a result of the dekulakization and famine [was] about 14.5 million," concludes Conquest, who adds that these "are conservative figures." This is a toll greater than

the total number of deaths for all countries in World War I. Not only was the Ukrainian "Holocaust" greater in scope than the Jewish one, but the first served as a precedent for the second.

Similarly, Hitler did not invent concentration camps, nor did he innovate uprooting and deporting masses of people in rail freight cars. When the National Socialists came to power in Germany in 1933, the Soviets had already been operating a vast network of *Gulag* forced labor and concentration camps for more than a dozen years.

German history professor Ernst Nolte argues that the well-known brutal actions of Third Reich Germany were introduced at least in part as countermeasures responding to inhumane Soviet policies that threatened all of Europe. "Twentieth century world history is only understandable," he insists, "when one is willing to acknowledge the connection made by the enemies of Bolshevism between a fear of annihilation and an intention of annihilation, and to recognize the simple truth that the statements of anti-Communists [including the National Socialists] about the misdeeds of Bolshevism were, in fact, well grounded. (From Nolte's book *Streitpunkte*, quoted in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 40.)

In accord with the wishes of powerful interests, history is portrayed today in a very one-sided way — a distortion that is all more dangerous because Communism is not dead.

L.R.
Lethbridge, Canada

Preposterous Fables

Thank you for seeking out and publicizing historical truth. Over the years I have purchased, read and *studied* a number of your books, including Joseph Halow's *Innocent at Dachau* and James Bacque's *Other Losses*.

During the war I flew with the US air force that bombed Germany, and I know what shape the country was in. I also know why

piles of dead bodies were found by American soldiers in the final weeks of the war. Some of these lost their lives in Allied bombings, and many others were indirect casualties of the war as victims of epidemic and starvation.

It pains me that many people persist in believing the most preposterous imaginings, about not just the Nazis but the German people generally. For example, the lie of the Six Million is permanently inscribed in the Jewish chapel at the nearby Air Force Academy.

Another horrendous fable is the claim that the Germans killed prisoners in gas chambers in the Dachau concentration camp. The truth about this particular matter is established in the memoir-study by Joseph Halow, who obviously has no axe to grind.

And yet, my own brother-in-law, who was an infantryman with the US Army's 45th Division unit that liberated the Dachau camp, tells me: "We saw the gas chambers, and we saw where they [the Germans] cut the prisoners' throats and collected the blood." Actually, he wouldn't know a gas chamber from a cow barn, and neither would I. Anyway, that prisoners would have been killed using both methods concurrently is itself illogical.

I told him of Halow's charge, based on declassified US Army records, that American troops massacred the camp's German guards on liberation day. He responded by saying, "That was 'E' Company," at least confirming something he had never previously mentioned.

*J.R. Arter, Col. USAF (ret.)
Colorado Springs, Col.*

Lipstadt's Double Standard

Deborah Lipstadt, a vociferous critic of those who are skeptical of Holocaust extermination claims, has received enthusiastic praise for her anti-revisionist book, *Denying the Holocaust* [reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*]. Throughout her strident and spiteful polemic,

she condemns certain revisionists as evil racists because they wish to preserve the integrity of the White race and European culture. The hidden "agenda" of the Institute for Historical Review, she falsely asserts (p. 142), is "to rehabilitate national socialism, inculcate anti-semitism and racism, and oppose democracy."

Lipstadt's complaint is hypocrisy. As it turns out, she is no less concerned about preserving her own people's identity than are those whom she maligns. In the book *Embracing the Stranger: Intermarriage and the Future of the American Jewish Community* (Basic Books, 1995, p. 18), Jewish author and educator Ellen Jaffe McClain reports:

Although people like Deborah Lipstadt, the Emory University professor who has written and lectured widely on Holocaust denial, have exhorted Jewish parents to just say no to intermarriage [with non-Jews], much the way they expect their children not to take drugs, a large majority of [Jewish] parents (and more than a few rabbis) are unable to lay down opposition to intermarriage as a strict operating principle.

In a 1991 article cited by McClain (p. 231), Lipstadt expresses the view that Jewish parents should flatly tell their children: "I expect you to marry

Jews."

While Lipstadt urges Jews to marry only Jews to preserve the Jewish nation, she condemns non-Jews who manifest similar concern for the survival of their own peoplehood. As Jewish scholar Israel Shahak points out in his brilliant work, *Jewish History, Jewish Religion: The Weight of Three Thousand Years*, this hypocritical double standard is deeply rooted in the Jewish Talmudic tradition.

*Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio*

Causing a Commotion

First off, 6 million of my Jewish ancestors as well as 24 million other minorities on the 66 questions and answer list, you contradicted yourself. It angers me to call me, others that survived the holocaust and others that believe the holocaust went on. Second of all, I don't see how you can distribute this when we're trying to make peace and you're causing a commotion ...

*[signed]
An angry Jewish teenager
[mailed anonymously]*

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WHO REALLY KILLED THE ROMANOVs. . . AND WHY?

**Today, 75 Years After the Brutal Murders,
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WHEN THE NEWS OF THE COLD-BLOODED MASSACRE of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children reached the outside world, decent people were horrified. But the true, complete story of the murders was suppressed from the outset—not only by the Red regime, but by *powerful forces operating at the nerve centers of the Western nations*. Nevertheless, one intrepid journalist, Robert Wilton, longtime Russia correspondent of the *London Times*, dared to brave the blackout. An on-the-scene participant in the White Russian investigation of the crime, Wilton brought the first documentary evidence of the *real killers, and their actual motives*, to the West.

A SKELETON KEY TO THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET SLAUGHTERHOUSE

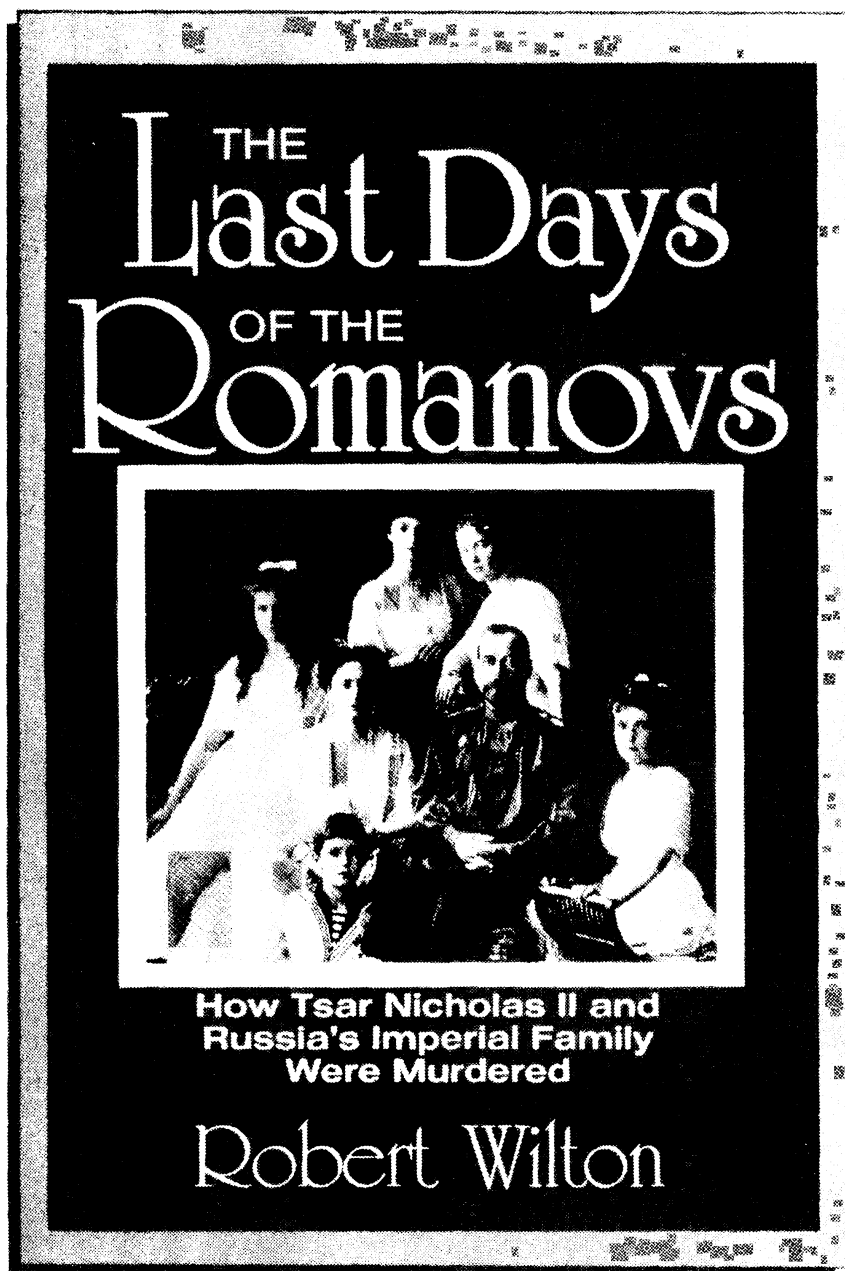
Wilton's book, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, based on the evidence gathered by Russian investigative magistrate Nikolai Sokolov, was published in France, England, and America at the beginning of the 1920's—but it soon vanished from the bookstores and almost all library shelves, and was ignored in later "approved" histories. The most explosive secret of Wilton's book—the *role that racial revenge played in the slaughter of the Romanovs*—had to be concealed. And it continued to be concealed for decades—as the same motive claimed the lives of millions of Christian Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, and other helpless victims of the Red cabal.

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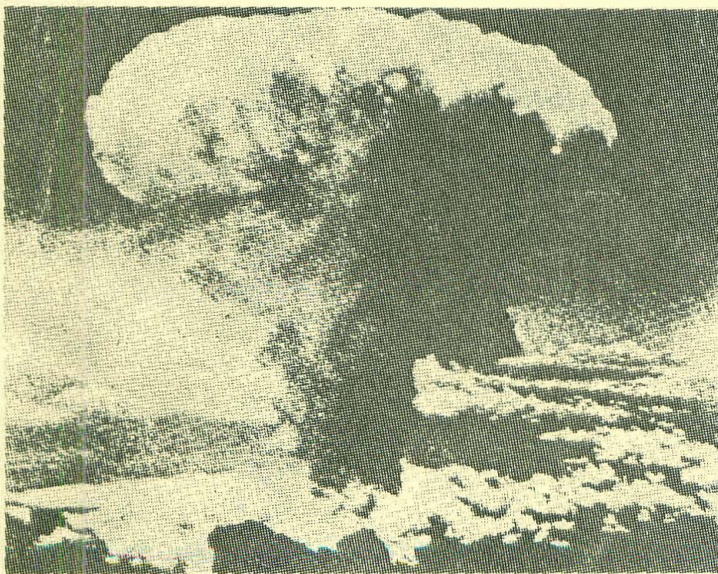
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